

**TAX DANGERS
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SOCIAL ORDER

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... just a few things:

THE PRESENT SESSION of the U. S. Supreme Court should bring a legal solution to the long-debated issue of closed business books. Since 1935 there has been a growing demand on the part of unions, especially in the heat of negotiating controversy, that businesses make their financial position and their business plans known to negotiators. The claim is made that without comprehensive information about finances the union is not in a position either to set its own bargaining sights fairly and justly or to evaluate the positions taken by management. Inability to pay can easily be claimed by a recalcitrant company, but the claim can only be substantiated by the proof which the books can give. On the other hand, businessmen retort that they cannot reasonably be expected to release information which, if leaked, could be seriously detrimental both to the business and to the workers and, furthermore, that such information is private property which they are under no ethical obligation to divulge.

Father George Lucy, associate director of the Institute of Social Order, examines the question in the current issue of SOCIAL ORDER.

THE VOTES OF many recent Congresses have been analyzed along "liberal" and "conservative" lines by a number of observers. On a few occasions the recorded votes of known Catholics in the two houses have been separately analyzed and compared with the votes of the two bodies as a whole, apparently to the "liberal" advantage of

the Catholics. William Bates, who is completing studies in sociology at the University of California, Berkeley, questions this conclusion and suggests that voting preferences are frequently determined by other than religious criteria.

DURING THE first half of the present year we shall be hearing a good deal about the question of inter-zonal elections in Viet Nam. Because the issue is politically important and of life-and-death import to millions of Vietnamese, we present a brief SOCIAL ORDER REPORT on the question in this issue.

WHEN THE CHRISTIAN HUMANISM symposium, which appeared as the 1953 May-June issue of SOCIAL ORDER, was planned, it was determined from the outset that one or two later articles would be required to make concrete and meaningful the ideals which Father Clarke's essay upheld.

Father John L. Thomas has developed the Christian humanist ideal of marriage, and the first part of his study appears in the current issue. This section undertakes to relate the nature of marriage as a human institution with the supernatural qualities of marriage as a sacrament, in the context of Christian humanism.

A second part, to be published later, will discuss these ideals in terms of ordinary Christian marital living in order to make the whole idea concrete, meaningful and practical.

DESPITE THE RECENT comprehensive revision of the Internal Revenue Code, tax legislation can never be frozen. As loopholes are discovered in its provisions, new plugs must be developed. Inequities must constantly be ironed out, and Randolph Paul, a federal tax expert, died in a recent Congressional hearing on one such proposal.

Increasing the amount of exemptions for dependents has several times been recommended as one measure that would improve our tax structure. The amendment was urged specifically as a device to improve the economic position of lower-income families. Since this is obviously an alternate measure to family allowances, it merits comparison with that proposal. An article in this issue evaluates this particular tax law amendment as a substitute for direct allowances.

FREEDOM IS ONE OF the bulkwarks of American life. The goal of freedom inspired the American Revolution and has been a cornerstone of public institutions ever since.

But it is not an absolute. Nothing

demonstrates this more clearly than our own Civil War which, in the realm of ideas, was a struggle between exaggerated freedom and the ideal of union.

Freedom is an essential prerogative of rational beings. Without freedom, rationality is meaningless. And without rationality, freedom is equally meaningless.

A recently published symposium undertakes to integrate freedom and reason both in the theoretical order and in the realm of concrete American life. Father Francis J. Marien, S.J., professor of philosophy at Mt. St. Michael's, Spokane, Wash., who discussed the social role of wisdom for us last November, evaluates this symposium in our present issue.

ORDERS FOR our January symposium on *Quadragesimo Anno* have been coming in steadily and now have passed the 1760 mark. The comments of readers are gratifying—and interesting—some few appear this month in "Letters." Copies may still be secured, at forty cents each.

F. J. C., S.J.

Will Employers Have To OPEN THEIR BOOKS?

GEORGE E. LUCY, S.J.

"... Therefore Shopmen's Local No. 729 respectfully requests permission to have a certified public accountant examine such books, records, financial data, etc., to ascertain or substantiate the Company's position or claim of being unable to meet the Union's proposal"

FOR the past twenty years worried management has been speculating just how many of its traditionally maintained prerogatives would have to be surrendered to the growing power of unions. Most of the difficulties began when employers were told by the law that they had to sit down and bargain in *good faith* with their employee-chosen representatives regarding rates of pay, wages, hours or other conditions of employment.

As the National Labor Relations Board and the courts broadened the key words—wages, hours, working conditions, good faith—the front office was gradually moved, decision by decision, into the work shop.¹ Labor was not content to sit opposite management at the bargaining table. It now appears

that in many instances it will not be satisfied until it sits on the same side, leisurely examining the books of management. The last vestige of business confidential matter is locked up in those books. What's there, says management, is none of labor's business. The Supreme Court may soon let us know whose business they think it is.

In the Truitt Manufacturing Case, which the high tribunal has consented to review, NLRB agreed with Shopmen's Local Union No. 729 only to have an appellate court in Richmond, Virginia, decide otherwise. The judge declared that "the Board was wrong in holding that good-faith bargaining under the act requires that an employer substantiate its economic position by submitting its books for examination by the unions with which it is bargaining."

The Truitt case is the culmination of union requests for more and more information. Such information falls into two general categories—wage information and matters bearing upon wages indirectly, the so-called "fringe issues" and data indicating the company's ability to pay.

¹ For a summary treatment of important decisions see Jay E. Shanklin, "The Employer's Duty to Supply Data for Collective Bargaining," in *Monthly Labor Review*, 75 (October, 1952) 381-87. See also Max

J. Miller, "Employer's Duty to Give Economic Data to Unions," in *The Journal of Accountancy*, 101 (January, 1956) 40-49 for a more recent discussion.

Wage Information

Wage demands are the most frequent issues in collective bargaining and account for three-fourths of the strikes in the past ten years. Consequently, labor's request for wage data has often been the subject of litigation before NLRB and the Courts. In the first such case some fifteen years ago the Court of Appeals enforced the Board's order that the employer had to supply information regarding employees in the bargaining unit including rates of pay, job classification, duties and wage history. The Court decided that such facts were not confidential. "We can conceive of no justification for a claim that such information is confidential. Rather it seems to go to the very root of the facts upon which the merits were to be resolved."²

From then on not only did management have to produce such information, but the term "wages" was broadened through NLRB and court decisions to include productivity, bonuses, pension and retirement plans, hospitalization insurance, merit increases, incentive pay plans, vacation and holiday pay, group health and accident insurance plans, profit-sharing plans, work standards, work loads, transfers of employees to another plant, stock-purchase plans and other matters not usually included in the common acceptance of the word wages.

However liberal the Board and Courts have been in their interpretations, one should not conclude that any and all wage information requested by a union is automatically granted. The Board still applies its "rule of reason" and "intelligent bargaining" approach. For instance, it has held that an employer is not required to give information in the

exact form asked by a union and that a union's request for wage data must not be used to harass the employer. On a case-to-case basis, the Board and Courts have taken the facts of given situations and determined whether the union's demands for wage data were reasonable or unreasonable. Sherman's observation still holds: "the type of data sought, the need for much data, the context in which the issue arises, the sources of information—all these and numerous other factors must be taken into account in determining the extent of the company's duty."³

Employer's Ability To Pay

The second category of information requested in union negotiations, data on ability to meet a union request, goes to the heart of the employer's financial condition. Labor insists that without this information it cannot bargain intelligently. If an arbitrary "take-it-or-leave-it" attitude characteristic of much collective bargaining is to blossom into a quick, honest, mature settling of differences, the unions insist that they must have a "look at the books."

Where else can such necessary information be obtained? Not, says labor, from the usual sources available to the general public, including investor's services such as Moody's and Standard and Poor's, the various commercial and financial chronicles, SEC reports and other government agencies like the Bureau of Labor Statistics. These reports cover only those companies that are listed on the large stock exchanges and which submit returns to the SEC. What of the innumerable companies with which unions negotiate: smaller cor-

² Judge Lindley in *Aluminum Ore Co.* (39 NLRB 1286) enforced 131 F 2d485 (CCA7).

³ For a discussion of the entire problem of information in collective bargaining see Herbert L. Sherman, Jr., "Employer's Obligation to Produce Data for Collective Bargaining," *Minnesota Law Review*, 135 (December, 1950) 24-46.

porations, unincorporated enterprises, corporations whose ownership and control are closely held?

Even in those cases where financial statements are available, labor maintains that they are inadequate for its needs. Present accounting procedures are designed primarily for management and stockholders, not for union negotiators. Besides, they may not be up to date. Rapidly changing prices and profits may make the preceding year's financial statement meaningless for this year's wage negotiations. What's more, claims one labor research director, "relevant facts in a labor-management dispute are not shown in corporate financial statements. They are concealed and distorted there."

Not more informed is the union member who becomes a stockholder. His legal right to inspect the books and records of the company for the purpose of obtaining more intimate knowledge to be used in wage negotiations is, to say the least, extremely doubtful.

What Information Is Wanted?

What type of information does labor want? Practically everything bearing upon the company's financial and competitive position: the company's profits and how they compare with competitor's profits, a breakdown of "costs of goods sold" into direct labor costs, material costs, overhead, dividend payments, total compensation of management, intercorporate relations between officers and directors of the company and other enterprises, income transferred to surplus, various reserves and their purposes, inventory valuation, depreciation, breakeven figures, accompanied by

detailed scheduled breakdown of the basis for fixed costs in order to determine how the company arrives at wage and price policies.⁴

Union negotiators claim that such so-called confidential data are essential for intelligent, informed bargaining and should be disclosed if management is to bargain in "good faith." Without this information they are helpless when an employer "sits pat" and simply says he is unable to pay. They want to see the books either to verify such a claim or apparently to help management help itself meet their demands.

Fundamental to labor's viewpoint is the belief "that the affairs of private corporations whose operations determine our basic welfare are public business," that "decision of important groups of labor and industry as to wages, prices and profits are no longer private matters. They are public matters and must be determined with the public interest as a major element in the decision."

Management, meanwhile, maintains that most of the information unions want is strictly confidential. "Good faith" bargaining required by the National Labor Relations Act does not mean that the books must be opened. It does not demand that the parties agree, only that they negotiate in good faith with the view of reaching an agreement if possible. Confidential information is not the subject matter of collective bargaining which management fears it would become. To bargain collectively in compliance with the law of the land does not mean that an employer must produce proof to establish that he is right in his business decisions as to what he can or cannot afford to do.

⁴ For a symposium of union officials' views on the types of information desired by unions see "What Kind of Information Do Labor Unions Want in Financial Statements," in *The Journal of Accountancy*, 87 (May, 1949) 368-77.

⁵ For a rather comprehensive list of topics see "Giving Economic and Company Information to Employees," John W. Riegel, *Personnel*, 26 (March, 1950) 335.

The Truitt Case and NLRB

In the Truitt Case the employer maintained during negotiations that he could not afford to pay the union demand of ten cents an hour but offered a counter-proposal of 2.5 cents, and that his existing wage levels were higher than those of competitors to whom he lost business because of under-bidding. The union then asked the employer to permit a certified public accountant to examine the employer's books to ascertain or substantiate his position. Upon the employer's refusal to give "full and complete information as to its status, dividends and manufacturing costs," the union filed refusal-to-bargain charges with NLRB.

In its decision the Board declared that Truitt had not bargained in good faith and ordered the company to open its books for inspection by the union, without, however, specifically stating what books were to be made available and without passing on the union's request that an accountant be permitted to make an independent investigation of the employer's financial claims. When Truitt persistently ignored the Board's order, NLRB appealed to the U. S. Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit. The Court refused to enforce the Board's order and disagreed vigorously with its position.

The company's contention that it manifested good faith bargaining by making a counter-proposal and by supplying the union with a comparison of wages paid by Truitt and other firms was upheld by the Circuit Court.

Regarding the vital point as to whether good-faith bargaining requires the company to open its books to the union in an effort to sustain the ground that it has taken, the Appeal Court maintained:

If such were held to be the law, demand for examination of books could be used as a club to force employers to agree to

an unjustified wage rate rather than disclose their financial condition with such confidential matters as manufacturing costs, which could conceivably be used to their great damage. To bargain in good faith does not mean that the bargainer must substantiate by proof statements made by him in the course of the bargaining. It means merely that he bargain with a sincere desire to reach an agreement.

Truitt Case and Supreme Court

Before the Supreme Court the Board will contend that financial data are of manifest practical importance in normal collective bargaining. As was pointed out above, the Courts have declared that companies must supply unions with wage, job classification, time study, seniority data, etc. The principle involved in these decisions, says NLRB, extends to full disclosures of financial data when it is legitimately requested in the course of deadlocked negotiations. Says the Board:

Lacking access to controlling facts the union is not in a position to know whether its demands are excessive and whether the employer's position is taken in good faith; it is deprived of all basis for intelligent discussion. Its only recourse is to withdraw its demands and strike, which cannot be squared with the statutory concept that wages should be fixed, if possible, by joint participation of union and employer through the process of collective bargaining.

In addition to the arguments previously mentioned, Truitt will argue that "it has not heretofore been supposed that, upon an employer refusing a wage increase to employees, he must disclose how much money he has in the bank, and what are his assets and liabilities, his revenues and expenditures, and his profits and losses."

The company also contends that to thousands of firms in keen competition throughout the United States, the privacy of manufacturing cost data is a highly guarded and valuable asset, and

"to remove such privacy is to destroy this asset."

If the NLRB interpretation of the law is sustained the company anticipates that many wage demands will be made for no other purpose than to obtain all the information which the Board, at any time, might order disclosed.

Rather than make highly confidential information available, an employer might be forced to yield to excessive wage demands.

Truitt maintains that, so far as good-faith bargaining is concerned, it doesn't make any difference whether an employer refuses to grant a wage increase on economic grounds because he is unable or simply because he is unwilling to do so.

In the opinion of the Company, even if an employer pleading inability to pay were found to have large bank deposits, he could not be held to have bargained in bad faith in refusing wage demands

on economic grounds.

Truitt argues that the employer has the right to decide what funds are to be used for wage increases, and neither the Board nor the Court can force an agreement.

Important Decision

All parties are awaiting the Supreme Court decision with interest and, as far as the employers are concerned, with some anxiety. This is an issue which probably will not be ultimately determined by the Courts. Should the Court uphold the NLRB there undoubtedly will be a contest in Congress for modification of the law. Employers will not consent without a prolonged struggle that all confidential financial information be disclosed in bargaining. But, at any rate, we shall have the Court's view on the kind of information to which the union is entitled if it is to bargain intelligently.

Catholic Congressional Voting

Is It Truly Liberal?

WILLIAM BATES

IN RECENT years there has been some discussion both in the Catholic and non-Catholic press about the liberalism of Catholic voting. There has been an attempt on the part of some of the Catholic press to show by quantitative methods that the vote of Catholic congressmen is more liberal than the vote of the rest of the members of Congress. For example, there have been articles in *Commonweal* which have attempted to show such liberalism.¹

There are, however, reasons for questioning this type of study. Aside from the questions of the polemic value of such work, there is a serious methodological objection which can be brought against the specific studies of voting liberalism. The word 'liberal' is difficult to define and one which has little meaning in scientific investigation. However, some operational definitions have been made. For example, the *New Republic*² used the opinion of the labor press as a criterion for liberalism. The items which the labor press supported were taken as liberal.

THERE have been some serious attempts on the part of social scientists to give a more rigidly empirical

meaning to the term. Thus, Dr. George Belknap of the University of Chicago developed an interesting method for measuring the position of the members of the Senate on various bills presented to that body.³ He found that he was able to construct Guttman scales⁴ on certain items which came up for roll-call vote, and by these scales he could determine the relative positions on individual questions for the various members of the Senate of the 80th Congress. That is, he was able to determine whether a Senator was more or less in favor of labor legislation, European aid, tax reduction and federal spending.

¹ George Belknap, *A Study of Senatorial Voting by Scale Analysis*, Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, microfilm, University of Chicago.

² A simple example of a Guttman scale is an examination so constructed that if a person can answer any question he can answer all those questions before it. Thus, the last question he answers will show that he could do those before and none after, granting enough time. A Guttman scale for roll-call votes is constructed in a similar manner so that a yes-vote on any item will mean a yes-vote on all preceding items, and a no-vote will mean no on all the following items. Actually, of course, this is an ideal to which any given scale only approaches. The chief work on this subject is found in Samuel A. Stouffer, Louis Guttman, Edward Suchman, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Shirley A. Star and John A. Clausen, *Measurement and Prediction*, (Studies in Social Psychology in World War II, vol. IV) Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J., 1950.

¹ *Commonweal*, 49 (January 14, 1949) 342-45.

² *New Republic*, 119 (September 27, 1948) 24-28.

Further, he found that the various items could not be equated with a single liberal-conservative dimension. Rather, it was possible for a person to be highly in favor of one item and greatly opposed to the rest of the items scaled. He found, then, that there was a set of items upon which the individual Senators could be independently arrayed and that the position of a person on one item did not predict his position on other items.

WORKING with these Belknap scales this writer attempted to determine the relative position of the Catholic Senators. It was found that in general the Catholic Senators ranked more highly in favor of each of the items than the Senate did as a whole. However, it was also noted that the Catholic Senators were, with one exception, Democrats and also with one exception from the urban North. Now it is common knowledge that party and region are important factors in American voting.

Hence the real problem seemed to be to determine if the Catholic Senators voted more liberally than the other urban Northern Democrats. Comparing the Catholic urban Northern Democrats with the rest of the urban Northern Democrats it was found that the Catholics voted almost exactly the same as the rest. Furthermore, the one Republican Catholic Senator voted more like the rest of the Republicans than like the rest of the Catholics. Hence, it was impossible to show that the voting of the Catholic Senators was anything more than a reflection of their party and region.

Duncan MacRae, Jr., working only with the roll-call votes of the House of Representatives of the 81st Congress found that the congressmen could be arrayed in a similar manner. His scales, which are constructed for Democrats

and Republicans separately, are as yet unpublished. However, an introduction to the general work in which they are used has appeared in the *American Sociological Review*.⁵ For Democrats, MacRae has developed a scale for communist-control legislation and another for welfare legislation, including segregation items. For Republican congressmen, the scales were on rent-control legislation and welfare legislation.

WORKING with the MacRae scales, this writer found a situation in the house similar to that found with the Belknap scales in the Senate. Among the Democrats it was found that the Southern Democrats were greatly in favor of communist-control legislation and strongly opposed to the welfare legislation. However, the Northern Catholic Democrats voted strongly in favor of the welfare issues and were also in favor of the communist-control legislation. Thus, on communist-control legislation the vote of the two groups of Catholics did not differ greatly from that of the majority, and on the welfare issue the position of North and South gave a statistically more meaningful division than did Catholic and non-Catholic.

A similar phenomenon was also noted among the Republican congressmen. On welfare legislation there was no statistically significant difference between the voting of Catholic Republicans and the rest of the Republicans. On rent-control legislation, whether Catholic periodicals almost without exception supported the legislation, Catholic Republicans voted slightly more in favor of the measures than did their non-Catholic party members, but so slightly more in favor that the differ-

⁵ Duncan MacRae, Jr., "Occupational and Congressional Vote, 1940-1950," *American Sociological Review*, 20 (June, 1955) 332-40.

ence here also was not statistically significant.

In the above paragraphs the party and regional differences in voting have been shown to be of greater value in accounting for voting behavior than religion. Furthermore, as mentioned above, there are many aspects of liberalism. To speak about it, one must define what is meant by the term. Some persons consider divorce, birth-control by contraceptive devices and a certain un-governed license of the press to be liberal. On philosophical and theological grounds, Catholics must reject these items. On other items, such as those mentioned in the body of this paper, Catholics seem to reflect more the influence of their position in American

society than a common ideological position. For these reasons, then, studies which attempt to show that Catholics are more liberal in their voting than other people seem to this writer to be out of place.

IN conclusion, one might say that up to now studies seem to indicate that religion is not an isolated factor which can be used to explain congressional voting. If further work is done along these lines, it must be done taking into consideration all the other governable factors, including the regional and party differences. If this is not done, the studies will reflect more the statistical naïveté of the writer than the actual conditions under investigation.

Three Divided Nations

A SOCIAL ORDER REPORT

COMMUNIST leaders in China recently addressed a proposal to the Soviet Union and Great Britain that a conference on the question of Viet Nam be held in the near future. The suggestion was addressed to these two nations as co-chairmen of the 1954 Geneva Conference which ended hostilities between France and the Viet Minh.

The Chinese proposal recommends that the nine nations which comprised the original conference, United States, Great Britain, France, Russia, Red China, Cambodia, Laos, Viet Nam, Viet Minh, as well as the three constituting the International Control Commission, India, Poland and Canada, participate in the projected conference.

BACKGROUND OF PROPOSAL

The Geneva Conference was held after the crushing defeat of the French Expeditionary forces at Dien Bien Phu on May 7, 1954, convinced Premier Pierre Mendès-France that further military effort was hopeless. The result of the conference was the surrender to the communist Viet Minh forces of about half of Viet Nam, all territory north of the Cuatung river (approximately the line of 17° north latitude) and the establishment of two administrative units, North and South Viet Nam.

The formal agreements reached at Geneva were embodied in three documents, ending hostilities between the Viet Minh, on the one hand, and France,

Laos and Cambodia, on the other. There were six unilateral statements and a final declaration. The last of these is the one of greatest present interest, but it will be useful to know Mendès' description of them all.

In an address before the French National Assembly on July 22, 1954, Mendès described the documents as follows:

Concerning the external form of these agreements, I should like to point out that they consist in the first place of three documents on the cessation of hostilities in each of the three Indo-Chinese countries, which have been signed by the representatives of the military commands concerned.

In addition to these agreements on the cessation of hostilities, there are unilateral declarations: two for Cambodia, two for Laos, and two for France

Lastly, a final declaration takes cognizance of these agreements on the cessation of hostilities and of the unilateral declarations to which I have just referred. This declaration was not submitted for signature by the participants of the Conference; it was adopted by the Conference as a whole. To it each delegation added its own observations.

The text of the final declaration, insofar as it concerns the topic under discussion, reads as follows:

7. The Conference declares that, so far as Viet-Nam is concerned, the settlement of political problems, effected on the basis of respect for the principles of independ-

ence, unity and territorial integrity, shall permit the Viet-Nameese people to enjoy the fundamental freedoms, guaranteed by democratic institutions established as a result of free general elections by secret ballot. In order to insure that sufficient progress in the restoration of peace has been made, and that all necessary conditions obtain for free expression of the national will, general elections shall be held in July, 1956, under the supervision of an international commission composed of representatives of the Member States of the International Supervisory Commission, referred to in the agreement on the cessation of hostilities. Consultations will be held on this subject between the component representative authorities of the two zones from 20 July 1955 onwards.

U. S. OPPOSED

It is to be noted that this paragraph was embodied in a declaration issued by the Conference the day following the formal agreements; it is in no sense a part of them. Furthermore, the declaration, as Mendès expressly declared in his address to the Assembly, was never submitted for the signatures of the representatives. While the declaration represents an agreement of sorts for those who associated themselves with it, U. S. Undersecretary of State Walter B. Smith expressly dissociated the United States from several parts of the declaration, including paragraph 7, and the present government of South Viet Nam protested vigorously against several provisions of the cease-fire agreement and the final declaration.

Indeed, the Vietnamese delegation used every means at its disposal to prevent any territory falling into Viet Minh hands and to obtain a more equitable solution to the country's problems. In a strong statement presented to the Geneva Conference, the delegation of Viet Nam opposed the partition demanded by the Viet Minh (who had sought a similar partition of all three states of Indo-China). The Vietnamese urged instead that the ar-

mistice safeguard "the sacred right of the Vietnamese people to territorial unity, national independence and freedom."

The Vietnamese government and its president, Ngo dinh Diem, have repeatedly expressed their strong desire for national unification. In an official statement issued on August 9, 1955, the government said:

The policy of the Government remains unchanged toward the partitioning of the country accomplished against its will. The Government is anxious that all the Vietnamese throughout the country may live without fear, and that they be totally free from all dictatorship and oppression. The Government considers the principle of essentially free elections as a democratic and peaceful institution, but believes that conditions of freedom of life and of voting must be assured beforehand. From this point of view, nothing constructive will be done as long as the communist regime of the North does not permit each Vietnamese citizen to enjoy democratic freedoms and the basic, fundamental rights of man.

ELECTIONS MUST BE FREE

In effect, then, the Government of Viet Nam is completely in favor of national unity achieved as the result of free elections. At the same time, it will not hold itself bound to conditions imposed by other nations against its will. Nor will it agree to elections until there is a genuine assurance that they will be free.

Last June, the Saigon newspaper, *Tan Dan*, (New People), pointed to still another consideration which the Red Chinese proposal overlooked. The editorial recalled that two other nations had earlier suffered the same fate as Viet Nam:

Korea and Germany have suffered the same fate. The Conference at Panmunjom reached an agreement looking forward to elections that would reunite the two Koreas. Yet these elections have not taken place. Such are the historical facts.

Germany was partitioned as the result of Soviet intransigence. After months of vain negotiations looking to the unification of Germany, the Western powers refused longer to hold the German people of their occupation zones under unnecessary military occupation. On May 23, 1949, the Federal Republic of Germany was proclaimed; the Soviet authorities followed suit by setting up the East German Democratic Republic on October 7, 1949. Germany has existed as a divided country ever since.

In Korea, the Moscow Council of Foreign Ministers agreed on December 27, 1945, to establish the US-USSR Joint Commission to assist in forming a provisional Korean democratic government, which would be succeeded after five years by a fully independent government. The Korean people totally rejected this proposal, and on November 14, 1946, the UN General Assembly established a UN Temporary Commission on Korea.

Under the Commission's auspices a government, intended for all Korea, was set up. Soviet authorities and Korean communists in the North prevented participation in the elections (although seats were reserved for delegates from the North in the legislative body). On December 12, 1948, the United Nations declared that the government in South Korea was the only lawful government in Korea. It was

this universally recognized government that was attacked by North Koreans on June 24, 1950.

SINGLE CONFERENCE

The situations in these three countries, Viet Nam, Germany and Korea, are strikingly similar. The chief reason for communist emphasis upon the Vietnamese question is probably the fact that only in the communist-dominated half of that country is there an actual majority of the people. The division is about twelve million to ten million. (The German distribution is about 49.5 million in the west and 17.6 million in the east; in Korea the proportions are about 22 million in the south and about eight million in the north.)

In accordance with Chapters VI and VII of the United Nations Charter, there is machinery available for settling the differences in all three countries. Piecemeal solutions cannot be conducive to the preservation of peace; the three must be resolved together, since all three are threats to order and peace, and the solutions reached should be identical. Korea has been unjustly divided since 1948; Germany, since 1949; Viet Nam, since 1954.

If a conference is to be held, it should be one that will consider all three of these tragically divided situations. And the chronological order in which they suffered partition is the ideal order in which to discuss them.

Christian Humanism and Marriage

JOHN L. THOMAS, S.J.

ONE basic postulate of Christian humanism is that divine law is found in the nature of things. Seeking full development and perfection, therefore, man must build on these established foundations. Although the supernatural extends immeasurably beyond the natural, it does not destroy it.

The Word, "by Whom all things were made," is also the Word Who came to save. Christ came not to destroy but to redeem and complete—the Creator and the Redeemer are one. As the theologians state it, "Grace builds upon nature." However high above nature the Christian ideal may stand, its foundations remain rooted in the law of nature. The God Who is the model of all perfection is also the God Whose law is found in the nature of things.

It follows that the Christian humanist's approach to marriage will be characterized by a profound respect for the natures of the factors involved. Development and perfection in the vocation of marriage must proceed by realizing the full potentials of men and women regarded precisely in their sexual complementarity. While the psychic and physical traits of men and women are both human, they are complementary, rather than identical, each to the other, and the long, intimate

association of man and woman in marriage can achieve the development of human potentials in both.

Marriage, by its very nature, is the actualization of this complementarity established as a permanent state of life. Briefly then, the vocation of marriage requires the integration of the process of bisexual fecundity with the perfective processes of reason and grace.

How Achieved?

The purpose of this paper is to investigate how this integration takes place. Basing our approach on the postulate that the divine law is found in the nature of things, we shall show that the development and perfection of marriage partners consists in the full actualization of their complementarity.

All men are called to perfection in the knowledge, love and service of God. Those who choose the vocation of marriage seek this perfection by exercising a natural capacity, the very use of which places them in special relationship to others as sexual partners and parents and to God as procreators. Hence these relationships define the framework within which they must work out their perfection as persons. Since God, the model of perfection, is also the Creator of human nature and, consequently, of marriage, there can be no intrinsic contradiction between

perfection and this state of life. Indeed, because God is its Founder, we can expect that these marriage relationships will be patterned positively to promote perfection.

How does the marriage vocation accomplish this? We have suggested that it does this by integrating the process of bisexual fecundity with the processes of reason and grace. It will help us to understand how these processes are unified to form a complete whole in marriage if we analyze each one separately. This procedure is legitimate because we keep clearly in mind that we are dealing with parts or elements which acquire their full meaning only when seen in relation to the whole.

Process of Bisexual Fecundity

We must start our analysis of this process with an understanding of the phenomenon of sex. This is something God-given, not man-made. We are not free to ignore it; we cannot neglect it without serious consequences. It constitutes a universal characteristic applying to all mankind.

In itself, what is sex? Briefly, the Creator has decreed that men and women should cooperate with Him in the propagation and education of the human species. Consequently, He has endowed them with complementary generative organs. All normal men and women possess these, and they constitute an essential orientation of their entire psycho-physical system. In the life cycle, these faculties normally develop and reach maturity with the development of the individual. They are not a matter of personal choice. They are sum and substance of each normal person. Their influence is basic in the development and perfection of personality.

Like all faculties, those of sex possess what may be called a definite cycle of excitation. They are not always

in act, i.e., although they exert a constant influence on the human composite, in their use as specifically reproductive faculties, they must be aroused by definite, appropriate stimuli. These stimuli vary widely, but the point to be noted is that they provide the basic means by which the use of these faculties is subject to human control. The individual has no direct control over the development of his reproductive faculties; he has little over the cycle of excitation, i.e., once the stimuli are present, the reciprocal reaction of sexual arousal normally follows, but he can, at least to a considerable extent, control the stimuli to which he subjects himself.

Further, when God, by His creative act, specified the manner of human reproduction, He by that very fact decreed the nature of marriage. Not only does reproduction require the union of man and woman, but the character of the newborn child is such that it requires the protection and guidance of both parents for many years. Hence, there must be some type of stable conjugal society, the establishment of a "home" and mutual support in supplying personal and family needs — economic, social, educational and so forth. These needs, like the phenomenon of sex itself, are universal. They cannot be ignored or disregarded without serious consequences.

Process of Reason

It would be misleading to consider these universals as simply "instinctive" or "given" by human nature, as if all that remains for mankind is to follow the dictates of nature. Man is a rational animal. He acts through nature and reason.¹ Consequently, the profound attraction between man and

¹ Note St. Thomas' observation, "*Homo est agens et per naturam et rationem*, Man is a being who acts through his nature and also through reason."

woman is never the manifestation of a merely instinctive drive. It leads to a companionship based on the knowledge and love of the other as a person—another "self."

Although there is always a sexual component in this attraction, namely, maleness and femaleness, in its initial stages it does not focus directly on the generative aspect of sexual complementarity. Rather, this aspect comes to the fore primarily as the completion or fulfillment of this mutual attraction. It follows that the human generative act is preceded and circumscribed by the knowledge and love of the partner as a person.

In man, this act is something more than an instinctive response; it is elevated to an act of love. Moreover, although it gives marital companionship its distinctiveness and specificity, it constitutes only one element of this companionship. Men and women form the marriage partnership as persons. This means they agree to work out their total life-purpose together by actualizing their mutual complementarity. In a very real sense, therefore, it can be said that their primary goal in marriage is the achievement of their mutual perfection as persons. This is the ultimate purpose of every human society.² For as St. Thomas states it, "The person is that which is most noble and perfect in all nature."³

Not Mere Companionship

On the other hand, we must not make the mistake of seeing in marriage only a human companionship through which two people seek personal perfection. The procreative purpose gives marital companionship its specificity.

The right to acts related to this purpose forms the substance of the marital contract. The psycho-physical qualities which the capacity to perform these acts implies constitute male and female differences and are the source of their complementarity and mutual attractiveness. Furthermore, this procreative purpose is the ultimate reason for establishing cohabitation or the conjugal state. Hence even those acts of marital companionship which in themselves are not directly related to procreation and education of children are implicitly connected with this purpose because they follow normally from the conjugal state.

We have stressed this point because modern social tendencies are emphasizing marital companionship as an end in itself. At the same time, some moderns tend to speak of this companionship as if it did not receive its distinctiveness and specificity from its procreative quality. To summarize our position, then, men and women enter the conjugal state in order to work out their perfection as persons, for this is the purpose of life. That which specifies or qualifies their companionship in marriage is its procreative nature. In other words, marriage integrates the process of bisexual fecundity with the process of reason.

Our analysis of these processes implies a concept of human nature which steers a middle path between two profound misconceptions that have plagued the thinking of man down through the ages. Man is not a mere animal. He is not a pure spirit. As a composite of body and soul, he is a compound of both. His function in the hierarchy of creation is to stand as a bridge between the world of spirit and the world of sense.

These worlds are both real. They are both created by God, and consequently, good. As a composite of body

² See Pope Pius XII, *The Mystical Body of Christ*, America Press, New York, 1943, p. 27.

³ *Persona significat id quod est perfectissimum in tota natura, scilicet subsistens in ratione natura. Summa theol.*, 1, 29, 3.

and soul, man is capable of receiving impressions from both worlds. As a rational creature, he is capable of a twofold activity—to know and to love. His development, therefore, consists in the realization of the proper co-ordination of these two elements in his nature.

Furthermore, since he functions as a bridge between two worlds, the lower universe of beings depends on him in a very real sense for its spiritualization. By observing right order in using creatures, he integrates them in the universal order of being intended by the Creator. Hence, not only are the world of sense and the world of spirit brought into proper co-ordination in man, but through this right ordering, all creatures come to be used as the Creator designed them to be used. Specifically, unless the process of bisexual fecundity is integrated with the process of reason, not only are the generative faculties misused, but everything that contributes to man's needs is abused, so that in the graphic words of St. Paul, all creation then longs for its deliverance. (Romans 8:19-22)

Process of Grace

But the Christian humanist approach implies a further integration. Man is "born again;" he becomes a "new creature" by sharing in the divine life of Christ. This new life, like all forms of life, gives him a new principle of operation. He becomes capable of supernatural acts. This new life, although it has been added as a gift and hence, can be separated from his "psychic" or animal life, does not exist as something "along side of" or apart from his human nature. Rather, sanctifying grace elevates, permeates and "informs" the whole man. In the "new creature," the supernatural order completely pervades the natural.

Through sanctifying grace the life

of the Christian acquires a new duality. Not only is he a composite of body and soul, but he now shares in the life of two worlds. The first, of which he is most conscious, he knows to be already dying. The second is the "world to come" which is being built up invisibly in the Mystical Body, and in this he already shares through sanctifying grace.

As one reborn, the Christian sees no necessary opposition between body and spirit, between Heaven and Earth. He suffers no temptation to embrace either the Manichaean opposition between the essential evil of matter and the absolute good of spirit, or the perennial secularist contention that the natural order is all that counts. Indeed, he sees the most meaningful line of demarcation to be drawn between unregenerated human nature—man left to himself, and human nature renewed by grace—man sharing in the Divine Life.

Complex Relationship

The process of grace in marriage reveals many aspects which had best be treated separately.

First, the perfection which men and women seek in marriage, considered generically as a companionship of persons, is Christian perfection. This is to say, the primary purpose of marital love is that husband and wife "help each other day by day in forming and perfecting themselves in the interior life; so that through their partnership in life they may advance ever more and more in virtue, and above all, that they may grow in true love towards God and their neighbor." The primacy of this purpose follows from the primacy of the human person in creation. In relation to it, all other finite purposes are secondary and instrumental.

⁴ Pope Pius XI, *Christian Marriage*, America Press, New York, 1936, p. 8.

Second, as we have stated, marital companionship acquires its specificity from its procreative quality. Through integration with the process of grace, this noble privilege is marvelously elevated and "completed." Men and women are now called not only to cooperate with God in the creation and formation of the human race, but they become co-workers with Him in building up the Mystical Body of Christ. Through baptism, their children become "sons of God" and "heirs of the kingdom."

Specifies Perfection

Because their companionship is characteristically procreative, both in terms of the race and of the Mystical Body, the framework of relationships which the fulfillment of this function necessarily involves clearly defines the lines along which they must seek their perfection as persons. Hence, there is no opposition between the vocation of marriage and the search for perfection. In Christian marriage, the processes of bisexual fecundity and of reason are incorporated and integrated with the process of grace.

Moreover, their companionship is founded on a sacramental base. Their calling to co-authors and co-workers with God has been elevated by Christ to the status of a sacrament. The indissoluble bond which unites them becomes the source of the supernatural strength which they need to fulfill their calling. Nay more, through the sacrament, the mutual love and service which characterizes their partnership symbolizes the union of Christ with His Bride, the Church. In this sense, every Christian marriage becomes an exemplar and a symbol of that proto-Union through which all have received salvation.

We have analyzed the processes of bisexual fecundity, reason and grace

in some detail because the Christian humanist approach envisages their complete integration in marriage. What may be called their functional requisites, i.e., the necessary conditions and consequences of their operation in the life-cycle must be fully understood. Integration does not mean destruction or partial incorporation. True integration does not require that the elements of one process be emphasized at the expense of others. Furthermore, integration itself must be regarded as a dynamic process in which the human person actualizes his capacities of nature, reason and grace in his search for perfection.

Integration

Perhaps because of the imperious character of the sexual drive, integration has always posed a serious problem in regard to marriage. On the speculative level, theologians have long been embarrassed by the need to reconcile the obvious display of enjoyment of concupiscence in the conjugal act with the sacramental nature of marriage. It would seem that if they had a bit more confidence in the divine plan and had taken more time to analyze the functional requisites of bisexual fecundity, they could have saved themselves this embarrassment—and the world, some of their stringent solutions.

More important, their failure left an amazing gap in Christian asceticism. The specifying act of the sacramental union was dissociated from love and reduced to little more than a physical release or the fulfillment of an obligation. This inability to reconcile the sexual impulse with reason and grace resulted in this powerful drive being considered as a threat rather than an aid to marital perfection. Even today, there are apparently some who fail to accept this integration so that their marital love is deprived of its specifying avenue of expression.

On the practical level, the integration of nature, reason and grace in marriage represents an ideal to be dynamically achieved in each union. Because in man this integration is not achieved by instinct, there is always the possibility that marriage partners will concentrate on one or other aspect of their relationship as an end in itself. Thus, they may seek pleasure without responsibility, companionship without procreation, or sanctity without relationship to their state in life. This danger has received greatest attention from moralists in the past.

However, a more insidious threat to the pursuit of perfection in marriage comes from the implicitly unChristian view that nature can be only partially integrated with reason and grace. This view misinterprets the significance of bisexual fecundity. The conjugal act is not considered a gift of mutual love, but a mere concession to irrational impulse. The "two-in-one-flesh" union which the Creator ordained as the solid foundation of marital companionship is thus deprived of its dignity and its function in the pursuit of perfection.

Applications

Since the relationships which result from the very nature of marriage define the framework within which spouses must seek their perfection, we should expect these relationships to constitute a positive aid in mutual sanctification. This is true, providing nature, reason and grace are integrated in the marital union. Although this subject cannot be developed in a short article, we can, at least, sketch out the general outline.

Briefly, the human person possesses an essential orientation toward perfection. This is manifested as an insatiable craving for happiness. St. Augustine tells us that the source of this craving is that our hearts are made for God and they can find rest only

if they rest in Him. But men tend to misunderstand the true nature of their desires. They focus their infinite craving on something short of God—whether it be power, wealth or physical pleasure. This explains the extraordinary energy with which man pursues these goals and also, his perennial frustration. These goals are not evil in themselves, but in terms of the perfection and destiny of the human person, they constitute merely instruments or means, not ultimate ends or purposes.

Rational Norms

Consequently, in his search for power, wealth and physical pleasure, as well as in the full actuation of his capacities as a rational animal, man must follow the order of reason. This means he observes right order in setting up his goals and in pursuing his life activities. Now marriage, by its very nature, is divinely ordained to assist him in this twofold task.

First, let us consider the order of purposes or life-goals. Man is made to know, love and serve God. All other life-purposes are subordinate to this. By choosing the vocation of marriage, man enters a life partnership with another in order to serve God by cooperating with Him in the procreation and upbringing of children. Henceforth, his search for power, wealth and physical pleasure is defined and given meaning in terms of this partnership and its primary purpose. Specifically, his search for power and wealth is now subordinated to the needs of the family, and consequently, to the service of God. The necessary division of labor required by the family, together with the partners' need for mutual aid and support throughout the life cycle, necessarily directs these basic human drives into unselfish channels. Husbands and wives not only give them-

selves to each other, but they consecrate themselves to the service of God by assuming the obligations of procreation.

Likewise, the drive for physical pleasure becomes rightly ordered in marriage. Besides the restrictions and limitations it undergoes because of the demands of mutual service, its specifically sexual aspect is brought under the order of reason and consequently, into the service of God. As a manifestation of love, the conjugal act is necessarily freed from selfishness. As the fulfillment of a divine command in the sacramental state, it becomes an act of religion. Thus, in marriage the expression of the sexual impulse is elevated by love and achieves its purpose as a means of personal perfection.

Second, just as marriage assists man to arrange his life-goals according to right order, it helps him follow the order of reason in the activities associated with the pursuit of these goals. Moral theologians summarize the sources of moral deviation in human actions under seven headings called the capital sins. By shifting the center of attention from narrow preoccupation with self to the love and service of others, marriage attacks these sources of deviation at their very root. All love is typically unselfish, but marital love, consummated in the procreative union, automatically develops into the selflessness of parenthood. Because it necessarily involves a dedication to the love and service of the partner, children and God, marriage represents a normal school of perfection. Furthermore, as a sacrament, it strengthens this natural inclination to love and serve others in the family by providing the supernatural assistance required to overcome all obstacles. Thus by assuring the integration of nature, reason and grace,

marriage becomes a true vocation, a normal way of pursuing Christian perfection.

Summary

To recapitulate briefly, the complementarity implicit in bisexual fecundity implies mutual attraction. In man, the rational animal, this attraction becomes friendship and human companionship. In members of the Mystical Body, this friendship is elevated to charity, a special form of loving one's neighbor leading to the love of God. But the realization of sexual complementarity involves the setting up of a special type of life-partnership through which husband and wife become co-authors and co-workers with God in the procreation and upbringing of children. Reason tells us that by its very nature this partnership is founded on a sacred contract, while faith teaches that Christ has elevated it to the status of a sacrament, a means of grace and a symbol of His Union with the Church.

Finally, marriage structures the relationships in terms of which the quest for personal perfection must proceed. From the intimate two-in-oneness of early wedded love through the turbulent years of childbearing and child rearing, to the placid companionship of old age, the marriage partnership offers men and women full opportunity to develop their latent potentialities for love and service.

As the "I" and the "you" are united in the "We" through the consummation of two-in-one flesh, and the "We" is inserted in the Mystical Body, husband and wife become absorbed in building up the Body of Christ. Then their desire for full self-actualization has order, their pursuit of happiness has significance, and their search for perfection has a divinely planned route.

Don't Increase Exemptions

if you want to help low-income families

FRANCIS J. CORLEY, S.J.

THREE Congressional leaders have recently urged that individual income-tax deductions be increased from \$600 to \$700 as a means of improving the income of low and middle-income families.

Senator Lyndon B. Johnson called for increased exemptions in his Whitney, Tex., speech "with a heart in it," delivered last November 21. Senator Walter F. George advocated the same measure on several occasions, most recently after President Eisenhower's meeting with Congressional leaders on December 13. Speaker Sam Rayburn endorsed George's statement subsequently.

The proposal has been made on many occasions, often enough as a substitute for family allowances. Some years ago a ranking official in the old Social Security Administration said in a letter to the present writer:

This amount, \$600 per dependent, is higher in the United States than in any other country, I think. I would like to see that made even higher for a person who had, for example, three or more dependents, including a wife . . . I would like to consider whether we would accomplish the same result [as family allowances] by further exemptions in income tax, for example.

Income-tax deductions for dependents are, in fact, a recognition by the federal government of inequalities in the financial burdens that lie upon tax payers and an attempt to give some indirect assistance to those with dependents. By the exemptions a tax-

payer is able to reduce somewhat the amount of income tax he is obliged to pay to the federal government.

For example, if an unmarried worker with no dependents has a net income of \$3,000, he will pay \$427 in tax. If he is married but has no children, he will pay \$305; if he also has one child, his tax will be \$185; two children, \$65. Thus, he is negatively "subsidized" by the government to the extent of \$122 for his wife, \$120 for his first, \$55 for his second and \$65 for his third child.

No Increased Income

It is important to understand the significance of the expression "negative subsidization." No increase of income accrues to families as a result of income-tax deductions. If a family's total cash income is \$3,000, it will not receive *more* income from this device; it will simply have less taken away in taxes.

At any rate, the proposal to increase the amount of exemption is worth examining, and the purpose of this article is to assess the extent of the negative assistance that can be given to families with dependents through income-tax deductions.

For this purpose the 1955 income-tax regulations are used to determine the amounts of exemptions on incomes less than \$5,000. The well-known table used in conjunction with Form 1040 is employed for this purpose.

Some explanation is necessary to make clear the data presented in the table below.

| If total income is | | And your number of CHILDREN is | | | | | | |
|--|---------------|--------------------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|-----------|
| At least | But less than | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 or more |
| Your cash saving for EACH CHILD will amount to | | | | | | | | |
| \$ 0 | \$1325 | \$ 0 | \$ 0 | \$ 0 | \$ 0 | \$ 0 | \$ 0 | \$ 0 |
| 1325 | 2000 | 1-118 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2000 | 2675 | 120 | 2-119 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2675 | 3350 | 120 | 120 | 4-119 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 3350 | 4000 | 120 | 120 | 120 | 8-116 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 4000 | 4650 | 120 | 120 | 120 | 120 | 5-113 | 0 | 0 |
| 4650 | 5000 | 120 | 120 | 120 | 120 | 120 | 2-56 | 0 |
| Your CUMULATIVE saving will amount to | | | | | | | | |
| \$ 0 | \$1325 | \$ 0 | \$ 0 | \$ 0 | \$ 0 | \$ 0 | \$ 0 | \$ 0 |
| 1325 | 2000 | 1-118 | * | * | * | * | * | * |
| 2000 | 2675 | 120 | 122-238 | * | * | * | * | * |
| 2675 | 3350 | 120 | 240 | 244-350 | * | * | * | * |
| 3350 | 4000 | 120 | 240 | 360 | 368-476 | * | * | * |
| 4000 | 4650 | 120 | 240 | 360 | 480 | 485-593 | * | * |
| 4650 | 5000 | 120 | 240 | 360 | 480 | 600 | 602-656 | * |

* Same amount as previous column

The table combines into one category many that are listed separately in the standard tax table. The latter lumps all incomes from \$0 to \$675. From \$675 to \$3,000 the breaks are in \$25-intervals; from \$3,000 to \$5,000 the intervals are of \$50.

In the table prepared for this article, the 134 income categories of the standard table have been reduced to seven, representing the levels at which an additional dependent becomes economically significant.

It presents in tabular form the actual cash saving accruing to a tax-payer because of dependents. The assumption in the table is that all families are composed of a husband and wife, with a specified number of children. Savings resulting from exemptions for the two adult members of the family are not shown, nor is the amount of tax actually paid shown. The table is concerned only with savings in tax payments resulting from exemptions.

The upper part of the table indicates the amount of cash saved for each child; the lower part restates these same savings cumulatively.

Thus, the second category in the table, \$1,325 and \$2,000, combines 27 categories: \$1,325-1,350, \$1,350-1,375, etc. Since the increase in tax payable in these categories rises at an average rate of \$4.50, the "saving" is stated as a variable, ranging from \$1 to \$118. For example, the tax payable on incomes between \$1,500 and \$1,525 for a person with two standard deductions is \$32. Hence, the "saving" for a tax payer with one child is that amount.

We can take a number of examples from the table.

Low Incomes Benefit Least

A worker whose taxable income was less than \$675 would pay no income tax, whether he supported only himself or a family of ten. The head of a family does not benefit from the present level of deductions and would not benefit if it were increased to \$700.

One whose income was \$1,325 would pay \$141 tax if he was single and \$1 if he was married. Thus, his total additional saving in taxes because of children would be a maximum of \$1, whether he had one child or ten. If the deduction were raised to \$700, there

would be no further benefit for families in this income category.

Taxpayers whose incomes ranged between \$2,000 and \$2,025 would pay \$242, if single; \$122 if married. With one child, the tax payable would be \$2; if there were additional children, one or nine, further saving could amount to only \$2. A \$700 exemption would involve a negligible benefit.

In the same way, husband and wife families with \$2,675 would be liable for \$244 in tax. One child would reduce the tax to \$124; two, to \$4. Hence, a third child would involve a saving of \$4. If deductions were increased to \$700, a one-child family would save an additional amount of approximately \$60. Families with two or more children would benefit from the increase only by \$4.

At the level of \$3,350, the tax saving for three children totals \$360; additional children, whether one or several, involve a further saving of only \$8. The effect of increasing the deduction to \$700 at this level would simply be to reduce the significance of the third child as a source of saving.

Advantage Increases

It should be noted that the savings mentioned at this level involve incomes which are already considerably above those traditionally considered low. This observation is even more applicable at the two levels still to be mentioned.

At the \$4,000 level a fourth child becomes a source of appreciable saving in income taxes, and a fifth child implies a saving of \$5. The effect of increasing the deduction would be significant for families of not more than three children, but it would be negligible as an aid to larger families.

A fifth child becomes significant as a source of saving, and a sixth child involves the slight saving of \$2 at the level of \$4,650. At this level, the \$700 deduction would mean an increased sav-

ing of \$22 per person up to the fifth child, but it would have no significance for further children.

It will be seen from these examples that the lower the level of income, the less the significance of dependents. There is absolutely no saving for children in the case of workers whose 1955 taxable incomes was less than \$1,325. Whether such a worker had one or ten children, tax deductions gave no "negative subsidy" whatever to the family in this needy group.

Maximum aid to families between \$1,325 and \$2,000 is \$118. Again, the benefit is the same whether such a family has one or ten children. And even this differential benefit would be entirely wiped out (when compared with a two-person family) if deductions rose to \$700.

On the other hand, the benefit from deductions is related inversely to need, that is, *the benefit increases as need decreases*. Thus, families at the taxable level of \$2,675 are aided by \$239 for two children (see lower part of table). At \$3,350, families save \$359 for three children. At \$4,000, the saving is a total of \$476 for four children; at \$4,650, \$593 for five; and at \$5,000, \$656 for six.

Effects Harmful

What all of this analysis indicates is that no amount of exploration of the possibilities of income-tax deductions—or even their increase—can raise an income of \$1,325. More important still, an increase in the deductions (which are already of appreciable value to upper-level incomes) will further increase the relative difficulties of low-income families. The gap in disposable income between two families of five children with \$2,000 and \$10,000, respectively, would be *increased* by \$120 at the \$700-deduction rate. And a *childless* family with \$2,000 would be better off by \$40.

This is precisely what is not needed.

These considerations appear more significant when it is recalled that in 1954 a total of almost 5.7 million *non-farm* families, whose standard of living would be almost wholly dependent upon cash income, had less than \$2,000, and another 4.2 million such families had less than \$3,000. When these incomes are estimated in terms of 1948 dollars, the totals of *non-farm* families in the two groups are 6.5 and 11.8 million, respectively.

It must be remembered, too, that family income in the United States tends generally to *decline* with increase in the size of the family, so that the tendency is to have less income for numerically greater need. And the low- and middle-income categories, as we have seen, receive less significant aid from exemption increases than those with high-incomes.

Families in the United States with specified numbers of children and the median income of those families are shown in the following table.

| (Numbers in Thousands) | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|----------|---------|----------|---------|---------------|
| | Families | | Children | | Median Income |
| | Number | Percent | Number | Percent | |
| Total | 41,934 | 100 | 54,970 | 100 | \$4,173 |
| Families with no children | 17,280 | 41 | 0 | | 3,929 |
| Families with one child | 8,592 | 21 | 8,592 | 16 | 4,335 |
| Families with two children | 8,256 | 20 | 16,512 | 30 | 4,506 |
| Families with three children | 4,360 | 10 | 13,080 | 24 | 4,335 |
| Families with four children | 1,857 | 4 | 7,428 | 13 | 3,949 |
| Families with five children | 804 | 2 | 4,020 | 7 | 3,155 |
| Families with six or more children | 785 | 2 | 5,338 | 10 | 3,252 |

Not Needed Solution

Unquestionably the present system of deductions for dependents has some moderate economic value for low- and middle-income families. But it is relatively ineffective for families with larger-than-average numbers of children. And, more significantly still, an increase in the deduction for dependents

will worsen rather than improve their relative position.

The principle that must be kept in mind in evaluating the usefulness of this measure is the same that is to be applied in evaluating any proposal for helping families. It is: *Any measure that benefits all families equally works to the disadvantage of families with children in proportion to the number of children.* This applies to tax reductions, wage increases, raises in minimum-wage rates, as well as to the proposal to increase the deduction for dependents.

The reason for this is that an equal gain, from any source whatever, must be distributed over a larger number of persons. If the income of every family were to be increased in some way by \$20, for example, this would mean a per capita increase of \$10 for a two-person family while it would be only a \$4 increase for one of five persons. As a result, the difference in living between the two families would be increased.

The family is the basic unit of American society and the backbone of our culture. Consequently it merits our best efforts for its preservation and improvement. But it cannot be helped by gross, statistical measures. Only differential benefits, that is, benefits accommodated to the needs of individual families, can do the job.

FREEDOM DEFINED

A Review

FRANCIS J. MARIEN, S.J.

GEORGE BERNANOS has said that the real threat to freedom is not that men allow it to be taken away. One can regain what he has given up. The real threat to freedom is to be found in the fact that people do not understand it and forget how to love it.

Everyone dimly understands that freedom must be somehow limited, somehow controlled. We have grown accustomed to the speaker or writer who describes liberty as if it were an absolute, but wishing to avoid the charge of sheer anarchy, hastens to add Herbert Spencer's qualifying remark: "Of course, freedom must be limited by the like freedom of others." But he does not pause long enough to tell us how, if freedom is looked upon as an absolute, it can be intelligibly limited or related to the like freedom of others.

The basic intellectual problem of our age is to discover how freedom can be and yet be limited, how it can be intrinsically limited, metaphysically, morally, socially and politically limited and conditioned—and remain liberty, finite, human, intelligibly related liberty. We must define freedom before we rush to its defense.

The effort to define and so to defend freedom is an imperative task. We are, therefore, indebted to the editor and contributors, most of whom are members of the faculty of Saint John's Uni-

versity, New York, and of its Humanities Research Board which has given us a comprehensive definition of freedom and an application of the concept to the political and social order.¹ The fourteen essays constituting the volume—*Concept of Freedom*—seek to locate freedom in the context of human knowledge and to discover its metaphysical roots. They analyze the psychology of freedom and determine the nature and function of individual and social freedom. They explore the place of freedom in law, government, international society and in the economic order. They relate freedom to religion, art and education.

SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE

I will limit my discussion of these essays to those aspects of the volume which have a more immediate interest for the readers of this publication. But it is necessary to insist that the ultimate value of the social and political aspects of freedom must be founded on a philosophical and theological understanding which the solid and profound preliminary essays of this work make available.

Under the general division of external or social freedom, Irving G. Wil-

¹ THE CONCEPT OF FREEDOM.—Edited by Carl W. Grindel, C.M. Regnery, Chicago, 1955, 512 pp. \$10.00.

liams treats of freedom and government. In the American theory of government, civil rights play a central role. And, within our governmental system, the court system is the primary protector of these rights. In this particular the American system differs from the British because in the latter the courts have no alternative to enforcing legislative enactments.

The problem of protecting civil rights, however, is complicated by the fact that governmental power is divided between nation and state, and there is no wholly national system of rights. Police power has been left with the states, and no specific justification for a state law is required beyond proof of its relation to the common interest in matters affecting health, safety or morals, for instance. Relatively recent interpretations of the Fourteenth Amendment respecting due process of law have made the Federal government (at least the judicial branch) the protector of the individual against adverse state action. Thus, only in relatively recent times have basic civil rights been effectively nationalized. This analysis, especially respecting police power, has an obvious application to our current problem of desegregation.

The increasing nationalization of civil rights has been paralleled by an internationalization of basic human rights. Edward D. Re in his essay "Freedom in International Society" outlines the evolution that has occurred on the international level. Traditionally the individual has not been effectively considered the subject of, but rather the object of international law. In the dominant traditional understanding, only the state had international rights and obligations. Such a doctrine tended to deify the state and to obscure the truth that the state exists to secure the rights of individuals. The Nuremberg trials and the unprecedented references to the indi-

vidual in the United Nations Charter have accelerated the realization that the individual with rights and duties ought to be the subject and not merely the object of international law. In such a light, one may justly regret the silence of the United Nations Charter on the ultimate radication of freedom and the dignity of man in God, but one can also note the real progress that the charter embodies, a progress not ideologically advantageous to absolutist and totalitarian states.

FREEDOM IN THE ECONOMY

Walter L. Willigan presents a stimulating essay on freedom and labor. He points out that, while labor and management believe in freedom of property, the term has different meanings for both parties. For management, it means the governmentally protected right of those presently owning productive property to use it as they see fit. Labor defines freedom of property in terms of an equal opportunity to acquire, possess and use property. The laborer wishes to curtail the freedom of the use of property by its current owners. He desires to command a greater share of the product of his work.

For the worker, freedom of property should include protection for the only property many workers have—their jobs. Thus, on the side of labor, the right of the worker to his job is looked upon as a property right to be protected by governmental action. The effort to resolve the problem arising out of these conflicting notions of property rights is the principle problem of labor-management relations.

The author analyzes and evaluates the development and effects of labor's struggle for freedom of association, freedom to bargain collectively and freedom to strike. The doctrine of freedom of contract, long sanctioned in American courts, gave working men a

nominal but not a real freedom of contract to the extent, at least, that it prevented effective collective bargaining. Management and employer's associations opposed the rise of unions for collective bargaining under the protection of federal legislation. But the tide was against them.

FREEDOM TO ORGANIZE

By 1914, at least fourteen states had enacted state legislation along the lines of the Erdman act passed by Congress in 1898 providing that discrimination against union activity on the nation's railroads was a misdemeanor. The War Labor Board of the first world war recognized the right of collective bargaining and forbade discrimination due to union activity. The Norris-LaGuardia act of 1932 and more especially the Wagner act of 1935 supported the right of workers to freedom of association and collective bargaining. Section I of the Wagner act declares that it is the policy of the United States to encourage "the practice and procedure of collective bargaining." In the Jones and Laughlin case in 1937, the Supreme Court upheld the government position that Congress is justified in protecting employees in their right to collective bargaining.

Did the pendulum swing too far? According to Willigan, national hostility to what was looked upon as abuses of union power reached an all-time high in 1946 during which year nation-wide strikes paralyzed essential industries, arousing an anti-labor feeling. Pressure was placed upon Congress to amend the Wagner act and so to establish some balance in the labor-management structure by curbing the exercise of labor powers and affording protection to individual union members. The Federal government was asked to give up its attitude of open support of union organizations and to assume a neutral position. The Taft-Hartley act was intended to achieve these objectives.

It will not be necessary here to go into the author's analysis of that much disputed bill. I merely quote his judgment: "The Taft-Hartley law was written by those who for the most part were antagonistic to organized labor. This fact has resulted in an emotional attitude on the part of labor leaders who can see no value in the present law." (p. 348)

PROPOSED REVISIONS

The author recognizes the need for modification of the Taft-Hartley law. Pro-union modifications which have been suggested include the following: 1. mitigation of secondary boycott prohibitions; 2. curtailment of the power of employers to break unions by provoking a strike and then hiring strike-breakers as permanent replacements; 3. elimination of loyalty affidavits; 4. simplification of financial and membership reports.

Suggested pro-employer modifications would 1. restrict the making of new demands while a contract was in force; 2. strengthen the freedom-of-speech clause for employers; 3. improve regulations for union dues check-off; 4. impose higher standards for the conservation of union welfare funds; 5. provide for the right of the several states to establish and maintain their own labor-relations laws.

The author is not a spokesman for either labor or management. He sees the need for a solution to labor problems acceptable to both but a solution protective of public interest. In his view, "The freedom and welfare of all American citizens is more significant than the exercise of such freedom by either labor or management; a new definition is needed for the conditions under which the freedom to strike may be exercised." (p. 353)

Dr. Willigan gives a summary of grievances against unions brought by

union members themselves. The rank and file of union members as well as union officials might do well to ask to what extent these grievances are justified:

1. The loss of freedom for the individual worker. The union is said to be a monopolistic goliath which absorbs the individual and destroys his integrity.

2. The worker can no longer control the national union's extensive taxing power.

3. Union leaders are not responsive to the will of union membership.

4. The precedent of long tenure of office by national union officials needs to be modified. A union official may perpetuate himself in office by astute political maneuvering and by stifling opposition and keeping minorities in subjection.

5. There is a low degree of active participation of workers in the local affairs of their union which leads to the development of tyranny.

6. Unions are not immune to functional disorders in their internal and external relationships.

The basic theme of the essay is that a better and sufficiently adjustable definition of property rights is required. This new definition must do justice to both labor and management, but it must be protective of the common good. The failure to achieve this working definition will result in the loss of freedom and integrity for both labor and management.

RATIONAL BASIS

The reader of this volume will profit from the sound philosophical treatment of the nature and function of human freedom. As against the prevailing current which conceives liberty as an ir-

rational absolute and an end in itself, he will gain a deeper appreciation of the truth that freedom is a means and not an end. Human freedom is the active capacity for purposeful and rational self-determination. It cannot be looked upon as a perfection of man's nature unless it is so defined. To define it simply as self-determination without rational purpose (apart from an internal ordination to an end), or to define it, from the moral point of view, as "a right to be wrong," is to define it in terms of its imperfection and to make it irrational at the root of its nature.

It is at once the grandeur and the potentially tragic character of the human situation that freedom, which is a power of rational self-determination, may be used irrationally. But to define it in terms of its possible irrational use, as if it were the natural perfection of freedom, is to embrace moral nihilism.

But to define freedom as the capacity for purposeful and rational self-determination is implicitly to admit that the saint, the man who habitually uses his freedom in accord with natural and divine law is free in the highest degree. Man can abuse his freedom and choose evil. So doing, he will act irrationally and frustrate his nature. He is victimized and enslaved by his own choice. But to the precise extent that a man's choice is directed by reason, pursuant of a rational goal (implicitly and ultimately the Uncreated Good), he achieves the stature of manhood.

One need not agree with the adequacy of the various analyses made in these essays nor with all the conclusions reached to recognize the important contribution made by this volume to our current problems. It is gratifying to note that the book has received a special award from Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge.

TRENDS

Philippines Lose Pioneer

One of the most dynamic leaders in contemporary Philippines' life, Father John P. Delaney, S.J., died suddenly on January 12. Although American-born, and, consequently, a "missionary" in this Catholic country, he had won the devoted following of many thousands, especially among the young, of his adopted mother-land. By his retreats and days of recollection, his writings and university lectures, his addresses on radio and television, he had made Christianity vibrantly alive and social justice an imperative demand in every part of the island. Just prior to his death, anti-clerical forces associated with the University of the Philippines had succeeded in prohibiting his lectures on the campus, where for more than ten years he had been chaplain of Student Catholic Action.

The death of Father Delaney is especially regretted by the staff of the Institute of Social Order because his inspiring leadership brought about its establishment, and he served not only as its founder but, for several years, as its first national director. During that time he began the work of family retreats which later developed into the Cana Movement.

His career included a period of two years on the staff of *America* and several years of work as a member of the corps of writers and lecturers connected with the Vatican Radio station in Rome.

Belgian Leader Dies

Almost at the moment that the last issue of his *Fiches Documentaires*, appeared on December 15, 1955, Abbé Robert Kothen, founder of the publication and author of several works on Catholic social thought, died at Charleroi, Belgium. For many years Father Kothen was associated with the Jocist movement and lectured on sociology at Louvain and Brussels. Born at Schaerbeek, Belgium, February 14, 1900, he had not quite completed his fifty-sixth year. He visited the United States in 1952. R.I.P.

Ease Immigration

For four years the McCarran-Walter immigration act has stood unchanged, despite the fact that it has been subject to almost universal condemnation as an unfair and unwieldy piece of legislation. Three years ago SOCIAL ORDER published an article outlining a vastly improved legislative proposal introduced in Congress by Senator Herbert H. Lehmann (Clement S. Mihanovich, "Proposed New Immigration Law," November, 1953, pp. 405-06).

Recently another revision has been proposed. Among the changes suggested are an increase of total immigrations permissible in one year from 154,657 to about 220,000, determination of quotas by the most recent decennial census (presently that of 1950) instead of on the basis of the out-dated 1920 census, the distribution of unused quotas among other nations on the basis of need, the admission of some 5,000 special cases annually without regard to national quotas.

These amendments are somewhat less complicated than those recommended by Senator Lehmann. And there have been still other proposals. They should all be examined carefully. But some revision should be adopted soon.

Integration Working

With the first year of desegregated high school education behind them, school authorities in St. Louis, Mo., can report encouraging progress.

At Soldan High School, which experienced the largest influx of Negro students, there has not been a single incident of identifiable racial trouble. In February, 1955, the school had about 900 students; when segregation was discontinued, an additional 500 students, mostly Negroes, enrolled. Today, about one-third of the enrollment is estimated to be colored, al-

though no accurate figures are available since racial designations have been eliminated from records.

While friction has been minimal, Soldan reports that academic problems have increased. Because of differences in social and cultural backgrounds, Negro students tend to apply themselves less seriously to study and are more prone to tardiness, absenteeism and truancy. Similarly, the number of students who failed to attain passing grades increased sharply in most branches of study after integration.

Percentages of failures before and after integration in some branches were as follows: English, 5.07 before and 12.4 after; American history, 4.91 before and 12.4 after; science, 8.12 before and 15.1 after; mathematics, 8.1 and 12.2. In stenography and Spanish, however, the failure rates declined.

Integrate Social Security

Late in 1955 an agreement was signed in Copenhagen between five Scandinavian nations, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden, completely integrating payments under various social security programs. This new pact supersedes numerous individual accords formerly in effect.

The terms of the new agreement provide that nationals of any or all countries have rights to the same security services provided for citizens of each. Citizens residing in another country are entitled to such services even when they are not provided in his native country.

The agreement includes disability, survivors' and old age insurance, sickness, unemployment and maternity benefits, family allowances and general relief programs. Costs of benefits, with limited exceptions, will be borne by the country of residence.

Organization for Trade

On four occasions during the past year President Eisenhower asked the Congress to approve United States membership in

a new Organization for Trade Cooperation, which an American has sponsored. The proposal was made during the Geneva meeting on Trade and Tariffs in March, 1955.

A total of 35 nations, signatories to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, reached the agreement to establish OTC in the course of the Geneva meeting. The organization is intended to be a permanent international body that will administer the GATT contract.

In a special message to Congress on April 14, 1955, the President urged approval of United States membership in OTC, saying:

we should deal with matters of trade in the same cooperative way we do with military matters in such regional pacts as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and with financial matters in the International Monetary Fund and in the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

Odd Ends . . .

Federal Reserve Board Chairman W. McC. Martin, Jr., in a statement made recently before the Joint Committee on the Economic Report asked for a "broad study" of consumer instalment credit. At the same time he indicated that controls on this type of credit are not needed at the present time.

In January of this year total employment in the United States stood at 62,891,000; at the same time unemployment amounted to 2,885,000.

Federal government neglect of American Indians is slowly transforming them into a permanently depressed class.

During 1955 U. S. business spent an estimated \$28.2 billion for new plants and equipment.

A top-level labor-management conference, the first since 1945, was held in Washington late in February.

BOOKS

CONSUMER BEHAVIOR, VOL. II. The Life Cycle and Consumer Behavior.—Lincoln H. Clark, ed. New York University Press, New York, 1955, viii, 125 pp. \$5.00.

The second volume of the Consumer Behavior Conference held at the University of Michigan includes not only papers and discussions on the subject of the conference, but also three articles on consumer behavior not related, or not so directly related, to the life cycle: "The Predictive Value of Data on Consumer Attitudes," by George Katona; "Factors Influencing Durable Goods Purchase," by Robert Ferber; and "The Web of Word of Mouth," the influence of neighborhood on the purchase of air conditioners, but with broader implications, by William A. Whyte, Jr.

The majority of the papers on the life cycle emphasize, as would be expected, its importance as determining choice. Evidence of its effect on purchasing clothing was presented by a Department of Agriculture study some 25 years ago; now, it appears, it may apply to almost everything bought. Donald L. Miller in "The Life Cycle and Impact on Advertising" shows the percentage differences, by age, of recall and of sales of three home products advertised over television. On the basis of this, advertisers should either concentrate on the younger housewives or devise some more effective means of reaching the older ones. In "The Life Cycle and Buying Patterns" S. G. Barton presents some differences that would be expected and some that would not. For example, why should families with children under six be the highest consumers of canned spaghetti sauce while families with children thirteen to twenty are the highest consumers of canned spaghetti? Families with housewives under 25 consume twelve per cent less coffee than the United States average; when the housewives are 35 to 44, the families consume twelve per cent more than the average. One would think that this was probably due to the age of the

children and only secondarily to the age of the housewives; it is presented, however, as a major problem for the coffee industry. Not surprising is the fact that persons over 45 are those most likely to subscribe to the National Geographic and persons over 65 are the prime market for real estate in California and Florida.

Other papers discuss income and financial assets at different stages of the life cycle and differences in the proportion of savers, non-savers and dissavers by age-groups in the United States and Britain.

The most thought-provoking of the papers, "Careers and Consumer Behavior" (by David Riesman and Howard Roseborough) minimizes rather than emphasizes the importance of age groups in determining consumption and goes still further. The authors perceive, they say, a general lowering of barriers not only between age groups but between other groups in our society as well, with the prospect of a "fairly uniform middle-majority life style becoming a major American theme with variations." The word *variations* should be noted, for the authors do not argue that consumption is getting monotonous; rather, "the standard package allows for both expansiveness and expressiveness;" all share in a wider opportunity and variety, in which they are free to choose without being differentiated as belonging to particular groups or classes.

In connection with their discussion of age the same authors bring in the concepts of anticipatory socialization and retroactive socialization, the latter being the result of the influences that the child has on the parent. This, as Gregory P. Stone says in comment, repudiates the fallacy of assuming that the infant or child is essentially coerced; rather it shows him as himself coercing. The child himself becomes an "opinion leader," moulding naively but certainly many of the expressive patterns of family life and dictating arbitrarily the contents of the family 'package.'" "I would say that Riesman

and Roseborough have provided us with the task of re-examining the whole context of childhood—not only in terms of how consumers are made *out* of children, but also how consumers are made *by* children.”

It will be seen that the volume is a valuable one. It does not have, but is well worthy of, an index.

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THE CHANGING AMERICAN MARKET.

—By the Editors of *Fortune*. Hanover House, New York, 1955, 304 pp. \$4.50.

This picture of the dynamics of consumption is far different from the patterns which emerged from previous studies. The consumption of the new middle income group with incomes from \$4000-\$7500, which comprises 35 per cent of all families and spends 42 per cent of all spendable income, is characterized by great diversity. Its tremendous aggregate of discretionary spending flows in many directions and tends to disprove the generalizations formulated by Engel. The rising real income has transformed the masses into consumers of luxuries, and luxury spending can take many and varied forms.

All types of spending reflect the informality and democracy of the New Suburbia. Excessive show is frowned upon, but the large aggregates of discretionary purchasing power are highly responsive to suggestions of leaders. Food with built-in services is taking a lion's share of this rising income today, but it is difficult to predict whether tomorrow the consumer will choose more luxury built-in services with food or more built-in services with the automobile or house. Clothing purchases today are not more costly, but show more variety and more specialization. The high potential for more costly clothing may or may not be realized.

The fluidity of the middle income group is another factor eliminating patterns for predicting markets. Nearly sixty per cent are workers and not the professionals, proprietors or managers who traditionally belonged to this group. Two-fifths achieve their economic position with the aid of

supplemental workers. Those who have newly arrived in the middle income class may still retain their former habits of spending. Those who are passing through this income group to higher levels often show negative savings. Those who anticipate falling below a \$4000 income, either when the wife leaves the labor market to bear children or when a son becomes a new family head, may have relatively high savings. Those who soon expect their income to be decimated through retirement may devote more income to capital goods which will continue to give a real income after retirement.

With a research expenditure of over \$100,000 the editors of *Fortune* have produced a highly provocative study. Its careful analyses of future American markets fill a serious gap which the Bureau of the Census cannot fill for lack of funds. Its thesis of the Changing American Market may have as profound an influence on thought as Frederick Jackson Turner's thesis of the American Frontier. This study and the Twentieth Century Fund's new survey of *America's Needs and Resources* are complementary. Together they open many new avenues for further research by economists, sociologists, psychologists and market specialists.

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A GENERAL THEORY OF ECONOMIC PROCESS.—By Neil W. Chamberlain. Harper, New York, 1955, viii, 370 pp. \$5.00.

There is something about the pursuit of labor economics which leads to strong dissatisfactions with “standard” economic theory, and tempts the practitioners to launch out into theoretical formulations of their own. Prof. Chamberlain's is the latest, and perhaps the most ambitious, of a number of such attempts. It is not, in the opinion of this reviewer, a wholly successful attempt.

Nevertheless it is a work to be taken seriously. It is always good to look at a familiar landscape from a new point of view, especially when one's guide is in-

telligent, enthusiastic and has a pretty good idea of what the main outlines of the landscape are like. Prof. Chamberlain's field of operations is familiar to the economist. He is not dealing primarily with sociology, psychology or political science, though he draws insights from and makes applications to these fields. His area of investigation is prices, wages, incomes, moneyflows—good familiar terrain. Nevertheless, he attempts to describe this terrain with a set of concepts rather different from those of the usual textbook. To vary the metaphor again, it is the meat of economics that he is slicing, but he is slicing it in a different direction, and perhaps with thicker slices, than is done in conventional theory.

The basic concept of his system is that of *bargaining power*. Bargaining power, of course, is something which occurs in a *bargain*. Unfortunately, there is no very clear discussion of what a bargain is. However, it is fairly clear from the context that a bargain is much the same concept as John R. Common's "transaction," and is essentially a generalization of the familiar concept of a simple exchange to include all the participating elements and satisfactions. We contemplate a situation, that is to say, in which certain things are given up and certain other things are acquired by two parties and in which, on the whole, the things given up by one party are the things acquired by the other. The "terms" of the bargain for each party consist of these elements of gain and loss—what is acquired on the one hand and what is given up on the other. These "terms", incidentally, cannot be expressed as a simple ratio—giving up 10A for 20B may not be the same as giving up 5A for 10B. Chamberlain then defines the "inducement to agree" (p. 80) for Y, if there are two parties, Y and X, as

the cost of disagreeing on X's terms,
the cost of agreeing on X's terms
a ratio which he further identifies as
the gains from cooperating with X that must
be given up
the risks present by agreeing with X that
cannot be avoided.

He does not bring out an important fact—that the "bargain" as he defines it is simply a special case, from the point of view of an individual, of the general concept of a transactional opportunity, and that his "X"

may just as well be "nature" as another.

It is these transactional opportunities with which Chamberlain is mainly concerned, not with the process of bargaining as such. This makes his theory much closer to conventional economics than he would perhaps like to recognize. Thus, what Chamberlain means by "bargaining power" has nothing to do with bargaining as a *process*—it has nothing to do with what might be called "bargaining skill," or the ability to manipulate a bargaining situation to one's own advantage. Indeed, there is nowhere in the book a discussion of the dynamics of the bargaining process as such; the framework is essentially an equilibrium framework of comparative statics, again really conventional economics in new clothes. Bargaining power is defined (p. 81) as the "capacity to effect an agreement on one's own terms—operationally, one's bargaining power is the other's inducement to agree." But what are "one's own terms?" There is surely a whole range of terms, which can be ordered more or less in the order of "favorableness." For each of these there is a different "bargaining power"—presumably, the less favorable the terms to the proposer, the more favorable they are to the other party, the greater his "inducement to agree" and the greater the proposer's "bargaining power." I leave aside the question of how "operational" a definition is which can only be interpreted in terms of a ratio of cardinal utilities, which is presumably what the "inducement to agree" definition implies. What we have then is a sort of "bargaining power function" in which bargaining power is inversely related to the "terms." This looks like a slightly fuzzy version of a very old friend—the demand curve. We will not be surprised, therefore, when we find an equally old friend—supply—coming onstage suitably disguised as the "alternatives" to bargains. (p. 320) Nor will we be surprised to find somewhere in the picture an alternative formulation of utility theory in the shape of "levels of aspiration." Occasionally the actors peep out from behind these new disguises, as in the discussion of an inflation of bank credit (p. 290) where demand and supply quite unabashed and in their right names take the center of the

stage. Most of the time, however, the author is pretty consistent, and puts his concepts through a quite elaborate set of paces, covering most of the traditional fields of economic discourse—the theory of the firm and household, price determination and macroeconomics.

Perhaps the most valuable contribution of this apparatus is that it does enable its creator to state some interesting propositions in political theory in terms which are rather similar to those he is using for economics. The analogy of the voting system to the price system has, of course, been made many times and Chamberlain's analysis is neither so extensive nor as penetrating as that of Lindblom and Dahl: however, it is a point to the credit of the "bargaining" terminology that it draws attention to the points of similarity between economic and political bargaining.

In dealing with the theory of the firm and the household the "bargaining" apparatus seems to this reviewer to miss the only important criticism of the marginal analysis—that it neglects the information problem in behavior. In dealing with macroeconomic problems the "bargaining" apparatus is extremely clumsy, and there is a constant danger of confusing "real" and "monetary" processes. The basic difficulty here is that the bargaining model is essentially "microeconomic" and it is not adapted to macroeconomic problems. Thus, Chamberlain leaves quite unsolved the great conundrum of macroeconomic distribution theory—why the distributional shares as between labor and non-labor income seem to be so completely independent of anything that might be construed as the bargaining power of labor.

A brief review cannot do justice to the richness of this book, both in insights and in mistakes. Those with an interest in theory, and especially those who are dissatisfied with existing formulations, will want to read it. They will not, I think, find the answer to their dissatisfactions, but they will be stimulated. Failure in an ambitious task is often more interesting, and even more instructive, than success in a petty one.

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ECONOMICS AND THE ART OF CONTROVERSY.—By John Kenneth Galbraith. The 1954 Brown and Haley Lectures, College of Puget Sound. Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, N. J., 1955, 111 pp. \$2.50.

The growing use of founded lectures in our universities is much to be commended. For a fee, sometimes substantial, a scholar of repute is invited to compress his opinions into a few lectures, to be at once entertaining and informative. So scientific men leave the *wissenschaftliches apparat* at home, make some attempt at rhetorical grace and say what they really think. A great economy in the learning process results—with agreeable by-products.

Professor Galbraith thinks that big unions are here to stay and that employers know it; that subsidized farming is accepted by both political parties; that despite the fact "government guidance of the economy is totally in conflict with the idea of a constantly balanced budget," (p. 65) both parties will spend as much money as they think will postpone unemployment till after the elections; and that, while there is still opportunity for argument over individual measures, the Welfare State in general is "beyond controversy." (p. 80)

Despite the fact that these are closed issues and both parties know it, they keep talking about them, the Democrats challenging anyone to prevent them from doing what is already done, the Republicans striving to prevent what they know happened yesterday. Recent political history is explained by the fact that the Democrats "are more adept than the Republicans in taking credit for the inevitable." (p. 100) The sham battle continues because to advance in American political life, it is necessary to appear to struggle for or against something. Otherwise no publicity.

One cannot quarrel with Professor Galbraith's conclusions that these are dead issues. However distasteful the decision may have been, prudent persons have accepted them and adjusted to them. The question arises as to the "inevitability." All of the areas discussed involve enormous increases in state activity. In no case was this action inherent in the situation,

but other possible solutions were not seriously considered. Is it inevitable that the state be "submerged and overwhelmed by an infinity of affairs and duties"? (*Q.A.*, n. 78)

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CAUSES OF INDUSTRIAL PEACE UNDER COLLECTIVE BARGAINING.—

Edited by Clinton S. Golden and Virginia D. Parker. Harper, New York, 1955, xiv, 369 pp. \$4.75.

This book attempts two things: 1. to condense the thirteen National Planning Association case studies on the causes of industrial peace under collective bargaining and make the essence of them available in one book; and 2. to evaluate their findings primarily with an eye toward the transferability of these conclusions elsewhere on the industrial relations scene. Both sections of the book have been previously published: the case studies were issued in pamphlet form as they were completed during the years from 1948 through 1953; the final report was issued late in 1953 and is simply reprinted here.

The case studies themselves grew out of a suggestion made by Golden during an NPA meeting in 1946: "In my opinion, the time has come when, instead of looking into the causes of conflict that we know and hear so much about, we ought to try to discover how much peace there is and what makes peace." Two problems had to be faced at the very outset: 1. Just what is meant by the term "industrial peace?" and 2. What criteria shall be employed for selecting out of the many cases of industrial peace the few to be studied intensively? For the purposes at hand, industrial peace was defined as "the product of the relationship between two organized groups—industrial management and organized labor—in which both coexist, with each retaining its institutional sovereignty, working together in reasonable harmony in a climate of mutual respect and confidence." The criteria for selection of the companies to be studied, however, are not made explicit. This is an unfortunate omission; and this reviewer, for

one, wonders on what grounds the Nunn-Bush Shoe Company (Milwaukee), a firm which not only has enjoyed continuous industrial peace for over forty years but has succeeded in reducing labor-management conflict to what appears to be an earthly minimum, was excluded from the study.

The final report lists nine "basic causes" of industrial peace (all centering around the attitudes and approaches which the parties themselves have consciously developed) which, together with a favorable set of "environmental factors," go far toward explaining why some companies enjoy industrial peace while others do not. Since there is nothing unique about the necessary environmental factors, and since the parties' attitudes and approaches toward problems have to be consciously formed, the committee which prepared the final report sees no insurmountable barriers standing in the way of more widespread industrial peace than now exists. It probably is not as simple as this, but so far as it goes this view is doubtless correct.

N. JAMES SIMLER
College of St. Thomas

THE UNION MEMBER SPEAKS.—By

Hjalmar Rosen and R. A. Hudson Rosen.
Prentice-Hall, New York, 1955, vii, 247 pp. \$4.95.

District 9, International Association of Machinists, comprises 21 local unions in the 25-mile radius surrounding Saint Louis. In 1951-1952, at the time of the study reported in this book, it had 25,000 members serviced by sixteen business agents; it now has 40,000 and 24 officials. In March, 1951 its officials commissioned the Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations of the University of Illinois to make a study of membership attitudes and opinions on District officers, policies and accomplishment of declared objectives. The present book is the resulting report.

Almost exactly one-half of the text is devoted to the report of findings. The other half is given to appendices, largely technical and methodological. The book makes a welcome addition to the few

empirical studies of actual union-member attitudes towards their officials and their union. Interestingly enough, the first book-length report of similar investigation (Arnold Rose, *Union Solidarity*, University of Minnesota Press, 1952) also probed a Saint Louis labor group; Local 688 of the Teamsters. Since then several books and monographs have covered other groups; the work of Theodore Purcell, Sayles and Strauss, Joel Seidman, London, Karsh, Davis and St. Germain have added to the meager shelf. The present work is a solid contribution.

Some sample findings from the probings of District 9 membership: a substantial majority of unionists in that District approves the policies and the efforts toward their accomplishment by the elected officials. There is a minority who are unhappy and dissatisfied in varying degrees, but in most issues better than two-thirds of the membership approve. There is a considerable amount of ignorance among them as to what is policy and as to how it is being effectuated in action: and the ignorance lies partly at the door of officials but more largely in the sloth and apathy of a marginal group of District members who could easily learn, but decline to make any effort. The area showing widest disagreement of rank and file with the opinions and objectives of officials is in the matter of political action in the union halls and the designation of political candidates as the "must" favorites of the union as a body.

In sum, the findings are not startling or surprising for any close observer of union men and affairs; but they do add an authenticity and validation of opinions otherwise challengeable as mere speculation. In these days of popular distortion and misrepresentation such empirical testimony is well worth the labor entailed.

MORTIMER H. GAVIN, S.J.

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Boston

**GREENBELT — THE COOPERATIVE
COMMUNITY.**—By George A. Warner.
Exposition Press, New York, 1954, 232
pp. \$3.50.

In this book the former mayor of a highly controversial town presents a factual and interesting account of life in one of America's best planned communities. Greenbelt, Maryland, built in 1937, has been assailed in terms that approximate in vigor those hurled at the early Mormon settlements of Utah and the imaginative cities of Jules Verne. Physically Greenbelt is one of the world's best examples of town planning, but it was ridiculed from its beginning as a "socialist prison camp" and a "comprehensive monument to government by boondoggle." The practical record of civic development that the author sets forth should serve to illustrate the benefits that can grow from an ordered environment and community action through cooperative means.

With such features as government construction, mutual home ownership, cooperative business and consumer facilities and a broad range of community services including credit union, nursery school and newspaper, this town was bound to have a unique history. Its history Mr. Warner calls an "experience in democratic living." The difficulties encountered in building cooperation are not omitted. Although it is never so stated at length, it is quite clear that the residents of Greenbelt subjected themselves to considerable strain in their effort to reeducate themselves for fuller group endeavor. Mr. Warner's descriptions deal largely with programs, but the most dramatic feature of Greenbelt's experience must have been the transformation that individualistic residents underwent. The structure of community life at Greenbelt has been shaped by citizen leaders who believe that democracy requires for fulfillment, not only popular control of public policy, but a type of social organization that will develop to the greatest extent the abilities of each person.

It is notable that Greenbelt could have developed along quite different lines if it were not for the energy of strong ideas. Even after the early assistance of the Consumer Distribution Corporation of cooperative pioneer Edward Filene, Greenbelt could very easily have become an ordinary atomized and uncoordinated suburb.

Persevering leadership and cooperative ideals prevented this. The town did, however, have the advantage of a special homogeneity that qualifies the spontaneous and "grass roots" character of its activities. The tenant selection policy seems to have been selective indeed, for the author notes that "The families eventually chosen are those families who can use that particular kind of community to the best advantage for themselves and their neighbors." Seventy percent of the residents were government employees. Even the most noteworthy social experiments, sheltered under the vastness of modern governmental influence and attention, seem to be unable to escape somewhat arbitrary and mitigating conditions.

The book does not reveal the degree of religious motivation that assisted Greenbelt's community achievements. A valid moral interpretation of the person cannot help but stress the human need for mutual charity, kinship and substantial community life. It is in the light of the unity promised by realization of the religious bond that the democratic ethic extolled in this book seems tentative and incomplete. The book affirms, however, that even on the basis of humanitarian self-interest men find community necessary and will work eagerly to achieve it while there is yet opportunity to build life by human rather than by technological standards.

DENNIS CLARK
Philadelphia 44, Pa.

ANALYTICAL SOCIOLOGY: SOCIAL SITUATIONS AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS.—By Lowell Juilliard Carr. Harper, New York, 1955, xii, 795 pp. \$6.00.

Part of this book was published in an altered form under the title of *Situational Analysis* (1948), in which Dr. Carr broke with tradition by making the student conscious of situations as situations, to give him tools of analysis for breaking up his immediate world and seeing it within the broader cultural world from which his own had been derived.

The present volume has a twofold purpose: 1. to provide a handbook for anyone who wishes to begin the systematic observation of human association by describ-

ing and analyzing sample units called "situations," and 2. to direct the attention of the student to the values involved in all current social problems from the little matter of how to get along with other people to the larger difficulty of how to get along with the Soviet Union. The first purpose is handled in Book I, "The Social World in Being;" the second, in Book II, "The Social World in Trouble."

The reader will have little difficulty with Book I, which is objective, descriptive and analytical; however, Book II is, in Dr. Carr's own words (p. xi) "opinionated, evaluative and controversial," for it creates a form of humanistic ethics and applies it to the social problems of today. The human personality is the ultimate value and any other abstraction held as absolute is a "myth."

The teacher will find the assignment pattern at the end of each unit interesting inasmuch as it compels each student to apply the data of each chapter to the world in which he lives. Copious plates diffused throughout the work concretize the main ideas and help the reader "see" the point at issue. As well, the popular language and the attempts at humor, though uneven, help to make the book readable and entertaining. In short, the reader may not agree with Dr. Carr, but he will enjoy the argument.

ANITA YOURGLICH
Seattle University
Seattle, Washington

THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.—By Quincy Wright. Appleton-Century-Crofts, New York, 1955, xii, 642 pp. \$6.75.

Building on the firm foundation of his *Study of War*, Quincy Wright has made an equal contribution which will soon establish its place as a valuable compendium of information on the study of international relations and one of the major pioneering attempts to crystalize it as a separate discipline.

The basic problem in the formation of a discipline of international relations involves the unification into a consistent conceptual approach of the findings of other disciplines that are frequently predicated on

conflicting underlying assumptions and different methods of analysis. After a methodological investigation of sixteen of the related areas, Wright suggests that the study of international relations should be centered around the union of the psychology of international relations and political geography. This core, and the disciplines grouped around it, should be approached through the concept of a field constituted by the relations of the entities, forces, sentiments and processes found in international affairs. By the use of surveys of the conditions prevailing among the people in each part of the world in successive time intervals, measures of political, economic, psychological or other continua influencing international relations and the expression of this material in terms of analytical coordinates, a discipline could be established which might yield both understanding and the power to control international affairs.

Despite its admirable organization, lucid style and wealth of analytical detail, this book will probably have a limited public. It is the outgrowth of a course designed to integrate the field of international relations for students who have done specialized work in several of the sub-fields into which the whole discipline is divided. The novice might easily lose himself in the vast range of alien concepts and terminology. Students and teachers of international relations, on the other hand, will find that it clearly charts an important approach to the understanding and study of the field.

DR. JOHN H. McDONOUGH

THE MIDDLE EAST, 1945-1950.—By George Kirk. (Royal Institute of International Affairs, *Survey of International Affairs, 1939-1946*, edited by Arnold J. Toynbee.) Oxford University Press, New York, 1954, vii, 338 pp. \$7.50.

George Kirk, in this important and scholarly volume, has completed his regional study of World War II. All important questions of the immediate post-war era in the Middle East (Turkish aid, Iranian oil, the Anglo-Egyptian deadlock, Iraq diplomacy, the Cyprus issue and Palestine) are discussed extensively and

intensively. Especially valuable are Kirk's treatment of the Iranian oil dispute before the rise of Mossadegh and his analysis of Cypriot nationalism. The chaos involved in the decline of British power, accompanied and accelerated by xenophobic nationalism, Russian expansion and American awakening, constitute the theme of the book.

Two fifths of the space is devoted to Palestine where so much chaos occurred. Many Zionist reviewers of Kirk's previous volume (*The Middle East in the War*) were wont to charge him with anti-semitism. This reviewer, however, believes that this charge can be sustained, with reference to either volume, only on the premise that no student of Israel is impartial unless he regards the Jews as perpetual repositories of virtue and the British and Arabs as wholesalers in vice. Kirk frankly points out Jewish responsibility for many distasteful aspects of the war, especially as regards Haganah collusion with Irgum terrorists in the King David Hotel bombing, the use of the Red Cross symbol to cover military convoys and Israel's disregard for truce lines. However, he is equally frank in recognizing the difficulties faced by Ben Gurion and the moderates in restraining extremist elements.

Stylistically the book has several defects. While Kirk has digested an enormous amount of material and arranged it logically, he has made no attempt to distinguish the really important events from the trivial. The basis of his allocation of space to various events frequently seems arbitrary, as, for instance, when on page 250 he relegates to a footnote the efforts of President Truman to secure enough votes in the U. N. Assembly to pass the 1947 Palestine partition resolution. Furthermore, while he has provided brief biographical notes about many obscure personalities, he has not given the necessary geographical data to locate many equally obscure places. Only five maps are included in the book, and all refer to Palestine. Finally, almost all his data have come from Western public sources, and he shows no familiarity with Turkish, Persian, Arabic or Hebrew materials. This

gives one an impression of lop-sidedness, especially in regard to Palestine where Anglo-American-Zionist relationships overshadow the actual Jewish-Arab belligerency.

This problem of sources gives rise to a broader question: can so contemporary a history be adequately written at this time? Perspective is lacking and the selection of events may not be justified in a few years. Perhaps that is why Kirk emphasizes details. Except for an excellent twenty-page introduction, he has not shown the interdependence of events and the regional problems as a whole. In addition, he has confined his study to conventional political and military history. While recognizing that real power in the Middle East resides in the people, especially as expressed in the mob, Kirk has not analyzed (except in reference to Iraq) the relationships between the leaders and the mobs. Nevertheless, in spite of the above limitations, the student of international affairs will find in this volume material which will long make him grateful to the author.

EDWARD R. O'CONNOR
Washington University

WANTED: AN ASIAN POLICY.—Edwin O. Reischauer. Knopf, New York, 1955, xii, 276 pp. \$3.75.

Professor Reischauer of Harvard University is one of the most eminent authorities in the United States on the history and culture of Japan. In his latest book, as he cheerfully admits, he ventures far beyond the bounds of his special field to attempt an appraisal of the whole of East Asia and to recommend an American policy toward that vast and turbulent region.

It is definitely a book for the layman, devoid of burdensome detail and knotty concepts. It is neither profound nor superficial, but calm and sensible, if sometimes platitudinous. Probably its main merit is that it presents in comprehensible form a consensus of the present views of most American specialists on the Far East. In view of the public suspicion attaching to them, largely without justification, it

should be pointed out that Professor Reischauer could not possibly be accused of left-wing sympathies. He tends to favor eventual recognition of Communist China and her admission to the United Nations; he also holds the view, unfashionable in right-wing circles, that our policy should be one of patience, negotiation and support for international organizations such as the United Nations, not one of force and threats.

If Professor Reischauer has said little that is new or startling, he has rendered an important service by urging us to examine the realities of Asia, and our policy toward those realities, in a spirit of reasonableness. There are some signs of returning sanity in American debate on these problems and it may be that this book appears at a time when it will receive the wide and thoughtful reading which it deserves.

HAROLD C. HINTON
Georgetown University

WITHOUT THE CHRYSANTHEMUM AND THE SWORD.—By Jean Stoetzel. Columbia University Press, 1955, 334 pp. \$4.00.

The author, a French sociologist, was sent to Japan at the end of 1951 by UNESCO. He investigated the young Japanese who no longer had the chrysanthemum and the sword, which had symbolized imperial absolutism and militarism.

He selected several districts and groups, each of which represents the typical aspects of the Japanese. He surveyed their attitude by using the enquiry method with the help of his Dutch partner, Japanese scholars and Japanese institutions.

He says that, so far as the results of his enquiries reveal, the young Japanese seem to be relatively immature. He correctly points out that this relative immaturity comes from social and economic difficulties. The young, obliged to be dependent on their parents, have a sense of insecurity. They sometimes tend to escapism.

On the other hand, they are sincerely idealistic and eagerly pursue the truth, the good and the beautiful. It surprised the author that the young Japanese are so much interested in obtaining knowledge

from foreign countries. But the large percentage of the youth in Japan are proud to have been born in Japan and are optimistic about their future.

Data used by the author are reliable and his method is trustworthy. However, at the same time, his methodology itself limits his study. For instance, he could point out the social and economic influences upon the personality of the young Japanese but could not dig down and analyze more deeply. His analysis is rather unsatisfactory and undigested.

Except for this point, this book is enough to give an outline of the attitudes of the young Japanese after World War II. Even a few introductory chapters of it will be a good introduction to Japanese history for readers unacquainted with Japan.

In short, this well prepared and conscientious study will add some useful sociological data on Japan in spite of the limitations arising from its method.

YOSHIKI F. YASUI
Saint Louis University

CULTURE AND MENTAL DISORDERS:

A Comparable Study of the Hutterites and other Populations.—By Joseph W. Eaton and Robert J. Weil, M. D. Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1955, 254 pp. \$4.00.

Cooperation of many scientists, field work by well-trained teams and grants by the National Institute of Mental Health have made this study of the Hutterite sect possible. The results justify the personal and group efforts put into the project of examining the mental health within a society which lives "in" America without being too much part "of" America. It appears that the authors have chosen the right moment: the Hutterite leaders have for quite a while followed a policy which in the book is called "controlled acculturation;" it is a selective acceptance by the sect of values and practices of the larger American culture. But this process is only in its beginning.

The Hutterites still form a unique social collective: stronger homogeneity in ideals, attitudes and in individual as well as group behavior can be found among them than in any other group. The social and economic organization gives a high

degree of material security to each individual. The general value orientation, centered around their most active religious belief which permeates all segments of life, extends a maximum of emotional security to the individual members and the families of the group. Yet, even these rather positive factors do not prevent mental disease from entering these communities whose norms favor a simple and more "natural" style of life. The Hutterites showed less "free floating" anxiety than modern societies where the individual does not receive the same amount of group support. The strong social cohesion in each of the 93 Hutterite colonies, together with the unconditional surrender of the sect to its moral principles, including all their consequences, cuts down any tendency to act out aggressive impulses and thus to promote social disorganization. As a result, on the one side communal activities are flourishing but on the other a rather high amount of manic-depressive disorders was observed.

The book makes a real contribution to the social sciences, first by studying a type of group heretofore neglected, second, by applying most interesting testing methods in order to verify the findings, finally by pointing to many fields just touched on by the project but which require far more elaborated research. Among others, the authors remark that the significance of ideology and belief is still too much ignored by psychotherapists; they also feel that the importance of culture, faiths, hopes and fears demands further investigation. For us Catholics it is encouraging to see that the authors underline the essential limitation of the use of predictions in social sciences. "Men have a veto power over some of the forces which shape their fate, which the remainder of the universe does not have."

RUDOLPH E. MORRIS
Marquette University

HENRY GEORGE.—By Charles Albro Barker. Oxford University Press, New York, 1955, xvii, 696 pp. \$9.50.

It is perfectly evident that Dr. Barker immersed himself wholeheartedly in the study of Henry George's life and labors.

The vast amount of data relating to the widespread activities of George which he has assembled is quite impressive and testifies to the painstaking scholarship that preceded the writing of the text. It is likewise evident that Dr. Barker took great pains in composing the text, for it can be read with pleasure. The book he has given us is a fine piece of scholarship and it will undoubtedly be a standard study of Henry George for many decades to come.

This book is not so much a biography of Henry George as it is of his classic book, *Progress and Poverty*. What the author tells us of George's personal life is mostly incidental to his main purpose, which is to explain the genesis, development and propagation of George's ideas. Nowhere in this book do we find a formal treatment of George's character or family life. We do not have a picture of Henry George at home, for example, when we close the book. The few things we do learn about this phase of his life are gathered here and there as mere incidentals.

But we do learn how the ideas of *Progress and Poverty* grew out of George's environment and newspaper campaigning. Moreover, Dr. Barker describes very fully the almost incredible efforts that George made to propagate his doctrines not only in America but also in England, Ireland and Scotland, and the many battles in which he engaged with his numerous opponents. Never perhaps has any author campaigned more mightily to propagate his ideas from the lecture platform.

One of the many admirable features of this book is that it relates Henry George's efforts in behalf of socio-economic reform to the whole sweep of socio-economic reform movements of his day.

No American historian or economist should omit reading this excellent book.

CORNELIUS A. ELLER, S.J.
Le Moyne College

THE BROWNSON READER.—Ed. by Alvan A. Ryan. Kenedy, New York, 1955, 370 pp. \$4.50.

Although there is a growing body of

literature about Brownson, his own writings are not widely read today. Yet many of his controversial articles throw light on contemporary issues, and his more speculative excursions into metaphysics and theology are solid and profound. If he does not rise to the stature of a Newman, he is nevertheless outstanding among American lay Catholics of the last century. His energy, sincerity, zeal for truth, and loyalty to the Church qualify him as a sort of patron for the Catholic intellectual of our generation.

Dr. Ryan of Notre Dame University provides in the present volume a selection of Brownson's writings in many different fields, including politics, education, literature, philosophy and religion. Within each of these fields he has chosen samples indicating various stages of evolution in Brownson's own development. The result is an eminently successful picture of Brownson as a thinker, with his strong points and his weaknesses. The editor has included a relatively large number of early works preceding Brownson's conversion. One's only regret is that the plan of selection made it necessary to exclude many of Brownson's later reflections, particularly in the realm of theology and political science, which possess greater intrinsic worth.

Dr. Ryan has prefaced this book with an excellent biographical sketch and provided a brief and judicious commentary for each section, in which he estimates Brownson's achievement in the particular field and supplies bibliographical leads for further study. This volume, well worth reading on its own account, should stimulate readers to delve into Brownson's other works.

AVERY R. DULLES, S.J.
Woodstock College

COMMUNISM AND THE RUSSIAN PEASANT.—By Herbert S. Dinerstein and MOSCOW IN CRISIS.—By Leon Goure and Herbert S. Dinerstein. Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1955, 254 pp. \$4.50.

The two studies in this book attempt an evaluation of important aspects of Soviet life, made mostly on accounts of actual

participants in them, who later left the Soviet Union. The first treats the peasant question, one of the most difficult for the Bolsheviks to deal with, since communism has always made its strongest appeal to the worker who has nothing but his bare hands to offer in the common cause. The peasant on the other hand was always more ready to listen to an invitation to appropriate the land of those who seemed to have too large a share than to give up his own sacred acres.

The Bolsheviks had to make substantial concessions to the peasants. The all-out drive for collectivization was delayed till the end of the twenties and only violence and famine were finally effective in establishing the *kolkhoses*. Then began the new battle to keep them working. It took rigid controls by party and police and the further concessions of a pay scale fixed on a number of work days and a private plot for each family to cultivate for its own profit. That only added the problem of keeping the peasants from cultivating their own garden at the expense of the communal farm, a problem whose seriousness can be judged from the fact that at one time two-thirds of the cows and over half the pigs in the Soviet Union were provided by the private plots.

In this study we have data on how the party exercises its control, what authority the communal farm leaders have and how they are chosen. We find evidences of this control in almost every issue of Soviet newspapers that call first for a campaign to put under cultivation fallow lands and most recently have been calling for increased cultivation of corn.

The second study is especially interesting in view of the questions raised on the basic loyalty of the Soviet people to their government. Here we have their attitudes studied at a time when they saw the Soviet power faltering and had solid reason to believe that they would be under German control in a matter of days.

It is immediately evident that there was not just one state of mind; there were open enemies of the Soviet regime who hoped for German victory, apparently a minority; others were apathetic, careful not to compromise themselves with one party

or the other; but a solid core, especially of the youth, remained loyal. When the government itself got over its own confusion and fear and offered firm and confident leadership, the bulk of the population rallied and helped drive back the invaders. Personally, I can't help but accept the authors' conclusion: (p. 225) "Discouraging as it may be, the fact remains that at the height of the crisis the majority of the population of Moscow did not rebel against their rulers. And, on the basis of available evidence, they had no intention of doing so."

MAURICE F. MEYERS, S.J.
Russian Center
Fordham University

PIERRE TOUSSAINT.—By Arthur and Elizabeth Sheehan. Kenedy, New York, 1955, 249 pp. \$3.50.

In the New York *Home Journal*, July, 1853, appeared this statement: "Pierre Toussaint for more than sixty years had been the most respected and beloved Negro in New York."

In their biography of Pierre Toussaint, Arthur and Elizabeth Sheehan relate the events of his life of servitude from the time he was born a slave in the household of the Berard family in Haiti until his death in New York.

Toussaint was born in Haiti in 1776, about the same time that another gifted Negro was born in the same island, destined to a far different history—Toussaint L'Ouverture. Their lives in many respects seemed to follow a similar pattern, although actually they were vastly different. Toussaint L'Ouverture, a man of action, led the men of his race in the revolt which wrested the French colony from white men's rule. Pierre Toussaint, on the other hand, led a quiet but nevertheless influential life in New York, always the devoted and peace-loving servant of a white master.

Toussaint was a young man when he came with the Berard family to New York to escape the terrors of the colored revolt. While the family hoped in vain to recover its fortune, Pierre learned the hairdressing trade at the suggestion of his master. This

skill eventually became the family's livelihood. With his small earnings the loyal slave supported the widow, protecting her from humiliation and further distress. He consoled her and other French refugees in their sorrow, arranged parties for their amusement and with his gaiety and his gift of humor, he did much to alleviate the sorrows of these one-time wealthy people.

Pierre died at 87, after more than half a century of devotion, practicing both the corporal and spiritual works of mercy. He was known in early New York for his works of charity. He purchased the freedom of many slaves and made loans to both white and colored. Yet Pierre never tried to raise himself above the world of the Negro to a white man's world.

Pierre Toussaint is a refreshing, delightful story of a great individual, told without emphasis or color. Pierre is a man, a gentleman. The story is written with warmth but is not sentimentalized. With little or no plot, the authors give a clear account of life in old New York, the treatment of the slaves and the effects of the French Revolution on the Western Hemisphere.

This is a book well worth reading.

Alice Nicholson
Kansas City, Mo.

HUNGRY GENERATIONS: The Nineteenth-Century Case Against Malthusianism.—By Harold A. Boner. Columbia University Press, New York, 1955, vii, 234 pp. \$3.75.

This book recounts the prolonged, bitter struggle waged by his contemporaries against Malthus and the dismal spectre he conjured up. Mankind, said the Malthusian dogma, was doomed always to live on the brink of disaster. The uncontrolled breeding habits, especially of the poor, would keep crowding surplus population over the edge into the abyss of vice, disease and starvation. Nothing could be done about it. Population increase would always tend to outrace any increase in the means of subsistence.

The rigid finality of Malthus' formula struck a stunning blow to the incipient forces of social reform. But there were men in England who loved justice and

refused to stifle the stirrings of compassion. They rallied their forces and counterattacked. In the forefront of the battle, strangely enough, were not the philosophers, scientists or economists. The honor roll bears the names of the illustrious literary men of the century: Coleridge, Southey, Hazlitt, Wordsworth, Shelly, Dickens.

Boner tells a fascinating story. His notes, index and extensive bibliography add the ingredient of true scholarship. The reader will be treated to an exciting and rewarding experience.

JAMES L. VIZZARD, S.J.
University of Santa Clara

ETHICAL JUDGMENT: The Use of Science in Ethics.—By Abraham Edel. Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1955, 348 pp. \$5.00.

The problem proposed by this book is that "recantations" and "reconsiderations" of the theory of ethical relativity, as too hastily based on the findings of "science," have served to "fan the fire of a revived moral absolutism which insisted on a theological world picture as the only safe basis for a human morality which would not revert to brutality." With questionable logic the author then concludes: "There is thus a need for a sympathetic inquiry into ethical relativity." To his mind, apparently, there is no use in the examination of the traditional "theological world view" (which, incidentally, is confused with a "supernaturalist" view). His interpretation of the "scientific method" shortly reveals the reason for his bias.

Author Edel, however, is not espousing a completely arbitrary relativism. His purpose is to see what the sciences offer as grounds for a reduction of indeterminacy in ethical judgment. And for this purpose he examines what he terms the biological, psychological, cultural and historical "perspectives" of man to determine how far the results of scientific exploration may dissolve ultimate ethical disagreement.

The "sciences" have a definite role to play in the determination of ethical judgment. Neither ethical judgment nor metaphysics (in spite of the innuendoes of the

author with regard to the latter) may be cut off from experience. But this does not reduce the sources of objective evidence to experience alone. The sciences and experience tell us, in part, what man is. They supply the elements of the factual situation to which the ethical standards of right and wrong are to be applied; they point out the lines of effective treatment which will bring the situation closer to the ethical ideal. But they do not themselves furnish the ideal. This latter, however, seems to be what the volume under consideration seeks.

As in the case of so many exponents of the "scientific method," the philosophical assumptions of sheer empiricism and materialistic evolution govern the author's investigation. The result is that he takes positions which in others he would censure as "a priori conjuring." A central dogma is the fideistic assertion that "Darwin gave . . . a solid biological foundation" to the discovery that morality is a human product. "For if man is part of the animal world then all his works and all his powers and faculties, however exalted their spiritual quality, must eventually be 'naturalized' in the evolutionary process." Consequently, "there is one thing that the questioner engaging in the evaluating process will not be permitted to do by a mature evolutionary ethics. That is to step outside the evolutionary process altogether . . ."

The author's empiricism adds another dimension to the distortion of reason. In his discussion of the "authority" of reason he suggests that the "tyranny implicit in the older sovereignty of reason" is now removed in the conception of reason on the model of an advisory commission instructed to ascertain the facts preparatory to legislation, which commission, however, "does not vote in the legislature." The section is entitled, with ironic truth, "The Romance of Reason."

Sought in this book is the answer to the question whether modern man may not find "some assurance that there are a few firm posts to which a common-human morality can be moored. He does not ask for a detailed map" (which, in another misconception, seems to be identified with any system of moral "absolutism") "but he

must at least have a compass to guide his ethical course."

The "compass" offered at the conclusion of the book, hampered as it is by unscientific prejudice and obscured by jargon, is the fuzzy concept of a vague "valuational base" which points to further confusion.

WILLIAM F. DRUMMOND, S.J.
Weston College

THE GROWING FAMILY: A GUIDE FOR PARENTS.—Edited by Maxwell S. Stewart. Harper, New York, 1955, x, 264 pp. \$3.50.

The chapters in this book have been developed from individual pamphlets originally published by the Public Affairs Committee and written by Ruth Carson, James L. Hymes, Jr., Dorothy W. Baruch, Clara Lambert, Ernest Osborne, Josette Frank, Evelyn Millis Duvall, Dallas Pratt and Jack Neher.

The book is written in simple, readable and understandable language. It can best be described as chuck-full of hints, suggestions and pithy remarks that are intended to meet all normal and most unusual situations that arise in a home with growing children. You are told what to expect before the baby arrives, what to do with various child problems from 1 to 6, how to discipline your children, what and how to tell them about sex, how to understand children from 6 to 12, how to create democracy in the home, how to handle mental health problems and how to keep up with teen-agers, in addition to discussing comics, television, radio and movies.

Much of what is contained is good and practical. However, the attitude taken in regard to sex is too flippant and too liberal.

If one disregards the few portions of this book that are saturated with the Dorothy Dix, Beatrice Fairfax "I-know-it-all-Nothing-to-worry-about" approach, one can find much that is common-sense and very useful in the understanding and rearing of children.

The psychological, medical, physical and mental hygiene approaches to children's problems appear to be based on the currently acceptable trends in these fields.

But pure reason and experience strives to raise its head above the confusion of contradictory approaches that characterize these sciences. This attempt to humanize the results of the sciences with the warmth of parental love and common sense is the greatest single asset of the book.

Assuredly, the book will prove popular and helpful.

CLEMENT S. MIHANOVICH
Saint Louis University

CATHOLIC APPROACHES TO MODERN DILEMMAS AND ETERNAL TRUTHS.

—Edited by Elizabeth Pakenham. Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, New York, 1955, 240 pp. \$3.50.

"In this book," says the editor, "an attempt is made to answer constructively and honestly the challenge of our times to Christian belief and behavior." The result is a modest but excellent symposium by an archbishop, two Jesuit priests and seven lay people. The general tone of the essays is on a high intellectual level. There is a distinct literary flavor, but the manner is neither ponderous nor systematically dogmatic.

Father Martin D'Arcy, S.J., distinguished author and lecturer, plunges us into the depths of the mystery of evil. Brilliantly he shows how the hope of the Christian is rooted in providence, immortality and the Incarnation. "The Advent of God in Christ," according to Father D'Arcy, "does not take away the mystery of evil, but it does take the sting out of it."

To live is to commit oneself—that is the theme of "The Uncommitted Mind." Here Douglas Woodruff, editor of the London *Tablet*, lays bare the vacuity of the "uncommitted" libertarian in contrast to the fullness of life of the convinced Catholic, committed to God and to his fellow man.

The British politician, Lord Pakenham, discusses from the vantage point of his wide experience and his deep Christian faith the problem of being a good Catholic and a good politician. In somewhat the same vein divisiveness in the United States is explored by William F. Lynch, S.J., editor of *Thought*. He warns that "we have a serious problem of divisiveness on

our hands and that it must be solved in the United States if it is to be solved for civilization in the West." His *bête noir* is the Cartesian clear idea and the univocal mind that adheres rigidly to one of the two poles of such social antinomies as freedom *vs.* authority, freedom *vs.* security, tradition *vs.* progress, nationalism *vs.* internationalism.

An exceptionally fine essay on the impact of modern science on religion is contributed by Prof. G. Temple, F.R.S. And in a more literary mood, E. B. Strauss, M.D., handles the question of the church and sex with scientific thoroughness and delicate finesse. The essay on marriage and the family by Lady Pakenham and that on problems of education and upbringing by Nicolette Gray are profoundly rooted in Christian wisdom, a living faith and the warm insights of dedicated wives and mothers who are highly educated women. David Jones, artist and author, develops an intriguing analogy between art and the Eucharist in his essay, "Art and the Sacrament."

The concluding essay, "An Approach to Africa," is by Archbishop Mathew. Here we have an intelligent, wise and sympathetic discussion by an experienced apostle of the problems of a Christian missionary in serving and understanding our brethren in civilizations beyond Europe.

Catholic literature is enriched by this book.

RALPH A. LASSANCE, S.J.
Marquette University, Milwaukee

SEEDS OF THE DESERT.—By René Voillaume. Fides, Chicago, 1955, xii, 368 pp. \$4.50.

The subtitle, "The Legacy of Charles de Foucauld," in a general way tells the contents of this book. The legacy is the broad outline, spiritual directives and inspiring example of Father de Foucauld himself for those who he hoped would become "The Little Brothers of Jesus." The outline is explained and clarified through letters and conferences by the author, who founded the order nearly twenty years after the assassination of de Foucauld.

The Little Brothers make their own

way among the working classes, living their lives, doing their work and knowing their problems. Availability is stressed as a necessary quality for those who are Father Charles' followers—being *where* they are needed, *when* they are needed.

The chapter on work should be of particular interest not only to the members of the order but to everyone who earns his daily bread. The author's opinion is that the phrase "spirituality of work" is an ill chosen and misleading one. There can actually be no such thing as spirituality of work but rather the spirituality of man as subject to the law of work. He warns against making work an entity in itself and feels that there is a tendency toward doing so. Work, just as all other activities of man, should be simply a part of the harmonious whole of one living in the presence of God.

CATHERINE ROBERTS
St. Louis

AN INTRODUCTION TO LABOR.—By Clyde E. Dankert, Prentice-Hall, New York, 1954, xvi, 605 pp. \$6.75.

The author of this volume has set several ambitious goals for himself. In the preface he states that an introduction to labor should be "comprehensive, but not superficial; scholarly, but not dull; interesting, but not frivolous; stimulating, but not exhaustive." In addition, he has roamed into the areas of history, sociology, psychology, government, and philosophy as well as economics to deal with all facets of the labor problem from the placement, distribution and allocation of the work force through the development, structure and activities of labor unions to the economics of wage determination and social security. To compress all of this material into a text of this size is bound to mean a sacrifice of clarity and thoroughness.

The book abounds in mere listing, definition and description with little analysis of cause-and-effect relationships. It is too elementary for the experienced practitioner or academician and too limited in scope for the typical course in labor offered at the college level. It may have a place in adult education or as a survey for advanced high school students who are just

beginning to evidence an interest in social subjects. For the latter group, however, the chapters on wage determination would be rather tough going.

The author's approach to labor problems is moderate. He favors collective bargaining but abhors the well-known union abuses. On the whole, however, he shies away from critical analysis, preferring to outline the pros and cons of issues gleaned from various other publications on the subject. Footnotes point the way for the interested reader to fill in any deficiencies with well-known source material.

GLADYS W. GRUENBERG
Saint Louis University

CATHOLIC ACTION AND THE PARISH.

—By Abbé G. Michonneau and Abbé R. Meurice. Newman Press, Westminster, Md., 1955, 116 pp. \$2.25.

This little book covers two subjects by two authors: the parish by Abbé Michonneau and the spirit of the Sons of Charity by Abbé Meurice.

Abbé Michonneau has his usual good insights into parish life. Since his previous books he has apparently become aware of the functional communities, as recreation and occupation, which do not respect parish boundaries. He goes so far as to say that "the territorial concept of the parish must now be cast aside as powerless to evangelize the modern world." This is in no way to be construed as a destruction of the parish. On the contrary, the Abbé is eloquent in speaking of the vocation of the parish priest. Catholic Action must be the bridge to the Christianization of lay life. With the Abbé it must be parish-based to be effective. Catholic Action has proved itself in the areas of home and neighborhood, but when it comes to changing the extra-parochial institutions, the Abbé offers us no help.

The Sons of Charity is a religious institute whose apostolate is parochial work in deChristianized worker parishes. This part of the book sets out to prove that this type of religious life makes good shepherds and shepherds make good religious. The proof offered is *a priori* rather than case study.

PAPER-BOUND ISSUES

MARX AND THE MARXISTS.—By Sidney Hook. Anvil Book No. 7. D. Van Nostrand, Princeton, N. J., 1955, 254 pp. \$1.25.

NATIONALISM: Its Meaning and History.—By Hans Kohn. Anvil Book No. 8. Van Nostrand, Princeton, 1955, pp. 192. \$1.25.

MODERN JAPAN: A Brief History.—By Arthur Tiedemann. Anvil Book No. 9. Van Nostrand, Princeton, 1955, pp. 192. \$1.25.

MOTHER-DAUGHTER RELATIONSHIPS AND SOCIAL BEHAVIOR.—By Rose Cooper Thomas. Catholic University Press, Washington 17, D. C., 1955, xiii, 369 pp. \$4.00.

EUROPEAN EXCHANGE PLAN SEMINAR ON INSTITUTIONAL TREATMENT OF JUVENILE OFFENDERS.—U. N. Technical Assistance Administration. Distributed by Columbia University Press, New York, 1955, 92 pp. 80c.

THE IDEA OF PROGRESS.—By J. B. Bury. Dover Publications, New York, 1955, xl, 357 pp. \$1.85.

MOHAMMEDANISM: AN HISTORICAL SURVEY.—By H. A. R. Gibb. Mentor Book No. M136. New American Library, 501 Madison Ave., New York, 1955, vii, 159 pp. 35c.

THE AGE OF REASON.—Edited by Stuart Hampshire. Mentor Book No. MD158. New American Library, New York, 1956, 186 pp. 50c.

DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA.—By Alexis de Tocqueville. (Abridged) Mentor Book No. MD161. New American Library, New York, 1956, 317 pp. 50c.

THE POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS.—Ed. by Oscar Handlin and others. Unesco, Paris, 1956 (in the U.S. Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27), 199 pp. \$2.25.

FIFTY MAJOR DOCUMENTS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.—Ed. Louis L. Snyder. Anvil Book No. 10. Van Nostrand, Princeton, 1955, pp. 191. \$1.25.

LETTERS

Quadragesimo Anno

The recent issue of *SOCIAL ORDER* in commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of *Quadragesimo Anno* has recently been brought to my attention. I would like to congratulate all of the writers and particularly Father Brown for a very fine article, which, in my opinion, strikes clearly at the problems and offers an excellent solution—which is a rarity in social writing today.

ROBERT J. MOZER

A.C.T.U.
New York

The symposium on the encyclical *Reconstructing the Social Order* is an excellent commemorative piece. It serves the doubly useful purpose of recalling to minds that quickly forget the essential ideas

which Pius XI enunciated 25 years ago and, even more importantly, of demonstrating how these ideas are related to the socio-economic problems of contemporary America.

We should be particularly grateful to Father Cronin for his selective exposition of the thought of the document that is particularly relevant to the United States.

ANTHONY L. MURRONE
Los Angeles, Cal.

Professor Brief's article, "Social Encyclicals and Liberal Ethics," makes a point that is useful for all Americans who would understand the nature of our socio-economic order—and even more useful for Europeans who misunderstand it.

He notes—and demonstrates lucidly—that American trade unions have fully

accepted the liberal business philosophy which guided the growth and expansion of the economy of the United States. In a word, they have applied liberal, individualist ideas to groups. Implicit in this observation is the further remark that American trade unions do not share the ideologies of their European counterparts.

The result of this is not merely that American trade unionists have shared handsomely in the material gain that has characterized the economy of the United States but, even more significantly, that sharing the economic philosophy and business sense of their capitalist and managerial counterparts, trade-union leaders, speaking the same economic language and sharing the same economic goals, have been able to get along surprisingly well in collective bargaining. At the very least, it can be said that the differences between management and labor (certainly since the Wagner Act) have been concerned more with how the pie should be cut rather than whether there should be a pie.

CHARLES COOMBS

Minneapolis, Minn.

Prized Magazine

Our greetings and gratitude for SOCIAL ORDER and all that you have done to give us such a stimulating and prized magazine. God grant you wisdom and heart for the work ahead.

DAN AND MARY KANE

Loveland, Ohio

... Congratulations on the Q.A. issue, which is first-rate and fully up to my high expectations of your work. We are recommending it for itself and as preparatory reading for the coming Catholic Social Life Conference in Toronto.

F. J. SMYTH

Social Action Department
Canadian Catholic Conference, Ottawa

... SOCIAL ORDER will be a great help to many of our economics professors, as it has been to me in the past.

HUBERT F. SCHIFFER, S.J.

Sophia University
Tokyo

Accolades

I found "Meeting Social Change" by Father Thomas very stimulating, and it will prove helpful as we prepare for the International Conference of Social Work in Munich, 1956. The theme of that meeting will be "Industrialization and its Effects on Social Work for Family and Community." Social workers have had a little difficulty in grappling with this theme, but I believe Father Thomas has many suggestions to make.

JOE R. HOFFER

Executive Secretary

National Conference of Social Work
Columbus, Ohio

... Really a most distinguished review.

SIDNEY R. GAIR

Glencoe, Ill.

... SOCIAL ORDER is a stimulation and a challenge to thinking Catholics. My sociology students and social work majors are developing an appreciation for its contents.

SISTER ANTONIA MARIE

College of the Holy Names
Oakland, Calif.

... I find the magazine so valuable that it would be a great sacrifice not to receive it. I watch for it every month, read it immediately and pass it on to my classes (thus I have lost some numbers). More power to the editors and the staff!

SISTER MIRIAM THERESA

Marylhurst College
Marylhurst, Oregon

... I find SOCIAL ORDER very valuable to use in connection with my sociology class. In *Quarterly Query*, which goes to all our Maryknoll mission schools, I mentioned your \$1.50 special subscription offer so that others may take advantage of it. ...

SISTER VICTORIA FRANCIS

Mission Education Secretary
Maryknoll Teachers College
Maryknoll, N. Y.

I would appreciate very much reading in SOCIAL ORDER a study of credit unions.

JAMES FUREY

Carroll, Iowa

National Interest in Foreign Policy (cont.)

The "realistic" concept has been upheld with variations, by Morgenthau, Kennan and others in a number of other volumes and articles. Amongst Morgenthau's contributions are: *In Defense of the National Interest* (New York, 1951), *Scientific Man vs. Power Politics* (Chicago, 1946), and "Another Great Debate: the National Interest of the United States," *American Political Science Review*, 46 (December, 1952), 961-988. Kennan in *Realities of American Foreign Policy* (Princeton, 1954) presents his interpretation. E. M. Earle, "National Security and Foreign Policy," *Yale Review* n.s. 29 (March, 1940), suggests that the test of a suitable policy is its ability to insure security broadly conceived.

Versions of the "legal-moralistic" or qualified idealistic concept are found in the public statements of such administration leaders as Woodrow Wilson, Cordell Hull, John Foster Dulles and President Eisenhower. A recent defense of this concept is Thomas I. Cook and Malcolm Moos, *Power Through Purpose: the Realism of Idealism as a Basis for Foreign Policy* (Johns Hopkins, 1954), wherein the implementation of American principles is proposed as a solution to problems created by "confused realism." Cook and Moos have also collaborated on a short survey, "The American Idea of International Interest," *American Political Science Review*, (March, 1953) 6 pp. Though concerned with other aspects of United States policy Professors Samuel Flagg Bemis and Dexter Perkins underline the historical acceptance of the role of ideas and idealism by Americans. The former, for example, does so in "Shifting Strategy of American Defense and Diplomacy," *Virginia Quarterly Review*, 24 (Summer, 1948) pp. 321-325; the latter, in "America's Attitude Toward War," *Yale Review*, n.s. 38 (December, 1948) 234-252.

Walter Lippmann in *Essays on the Public Philosophy* (Little, Brown, New York, 1955) presents a trenchant analysis of the

consequences of the retreat from the concept of a generally-accepted universal order based on the natural law, with traditional allowances for dissent and adjustment in particular circumstances, and points to the necessity of a return to this basic consideration. In the course of his exposition, Lippmann indicates the peculiar vulnerability of democratic governments in the area of foreign affairs by reason of the occasionally overwhelming influence given to local and particularized interests (as a political expedient) at the expense of the general national interest.

In *The American Tradition in Foreign Policy* (Oklahoma University, Norman, 1955) Frank Tannenbaum surveys jejunely the American experience and suggests that the historic American approach to the problem of foreign affairs has not consisted of a concentration on power politics and power manipulations, but, rather, on a reverence for the equality of states, irrespective of their power implications, with the consequent insistence on finding peaceful and humanitarian solutions.

Sir Alfred Zimmern in *The American Road to World Peace* (Dutton, New York, 1953) makes the point that the national development of the United States, particularly the peaceful maturing of a responsible community, can serve as the best model for a projected international community.

Sources for papal and Catholic analyses are found in such collections and studies as: Francis J. Powers, C.S.V., *Papal Pronouncements on the Political Order*, (Newman, 1952), Harry C. Koenig, *Principles for Peace*, (NCWC, 1943), Guido Gonella, translated by T. L. Bouscaren, S.J., *A World to Reconstruct*, (Bruce, 1945), J. Messner, *Social Ethics*, (Herder, 1949), Heinrich A. Rommen, *The State in Catholic Thought*, (Herder, 1945), and John A. Ryan and Francis J. Boland, *Catholic Principles of Politics*, (Macmillan, 1940).

MARTIN F. HASTING, S.J.

FOUR IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

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